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THE JOURNAL OF THE MOSCOW PATRIARCHATE

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1992 • 5

THE JOURNAL OF THE MOSCOW PATRIARCHATE

MONTHLY PUBLICATION IN RUSSIAN AND ENGLISH

Editorial and Subscription Offices: Box No. 624, Moscow 119435, USSR

Editor-in-Chief:
Metropolitan PITIRIM
of Volokolamsk
and Yuriev,
Head of the Publishing
Department
of the Moscow
Patriarchate

Executive Secretary:
K. M. Komarov

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DECISIONS OF THE HOLY SYNOD

At its enlarged session held on May 7, 1992, the Holy Synod, chaired by the PATRIARCH:

CONSIDERED: the situation in the Ukrainian Orthodox Church arisen in connection with the public statement by Metropolitan Filaret of Kiev and All the Ukraine regarding the Bishops' Council of the Russian Orthodox Church, held in Moscow on March 31-April 5, this year, and its decisions concerning the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

Note: The Extraordinary Bishops' Council was specially convened in connection with the request of the episcopate of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church to grant her autocephaly. In a free fraternal discussion the Council heard attentively the speeches of hierarchs from the Ukraine, who bore witness to a diverging attitude to autocephaly on the part of the clerics and worshippers of the UOC, most of whom, referring to the moods and attitudes of their flock, categorically opposed autocephaly. In the course of the discussion it was also stated that the intra-Church and inter-confessional situation in the Ukraine did not improve after October 1990, when the Ukrainian Orthodox Church had been granted independence and self-government, but, on the contrary new threats of a painful division arose in church life. The Council was unanimous in the opinion that the present Primate of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, Metropolitan Filaret of Kiev and All the Ukraine, who has lost the trust of the majority of the Ukrainian episcopate and can no longer be a server and symbol of church unity, as befits a Primate of the Church, is largely responsible for the present state of affairs. Metropolitan Filaret agreed with the criticism levelled against him and, before the Cross and the Gospel, gave his archpastoral promise to convene in Kiev a Bishops' Council of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church at which he would submit his resignation from the post of the Primate. Metropolitan Filaret assured the Council that he would not be the Primate of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and asked to be blessed to continue his hierarchal ministry in another see.

The Bishops' Council resolved to consider the granting of complete canonical independence to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church at the next Local Council of the Russian Orthodox Church and also took into consideration the statement made by Metropolitan Filaret who had declared that in the name of church peace he would "submit a petition at the next Bishops' Council of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church to relieve him of his duties as the Primate of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church". The Bishops' Council blessed him to fulfill episcopal ministry in another see of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

On April 14, this year, Metropolitan Filaret held a conference in the Ukrainian Information Agency in Kiev, during which he declared that the Bishops' Council of the Russian Orthodox Church permitted violations of the Statute of the Russian Orthodox Church and time-limits, that the "blow in the struggle against granting independence to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church was spearheaded against him", because he is the "mainspring which pushes the Church towards complete canonical independence", that at the Council he was forced to come up with a statement about his resignation, but that he "cannot leave his post" for he "is responsible for the Ukrainian Orthodox Church before God".

Metropolitan Filaret's statement was televised, broadcast, commented upon in the press and provoked a sharply negative reaction in broad strata of the church community.

Many parishes ceased to prayerfully remember Metropolitan Filaret during divine services. The clerics of the Odessa Diocese sent a petition to the Patriarch, requesting him to take the Patriarchal Cloister of the Holy Dormition, the Odessa Theological Seminary, the Cathedral Church of the Holy Dormition, and the entire plenitude of the Odessa-Izmail Diocese directly under the patriarchal jurisdiction. On April 30, hierarchs, clergymen, representatives of the monkhood, Orthodox brotherhoods and laymen of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church held a meeting in Zhitomir at which Metropolitan Filaret's statements were subjected to a most severe criticism. The metropolitan was accused of slander against the Bishops' Council and of perjury. Participants in the meeting voiced their distrust to the metropolitan and emphatically demanded his resignation. The church situation in the Ukraine is aggravating with every passing day. A real threat of yet another schism has arisen.

On April 17, Patriarch Aleksy sent a special messenger with a letter to Metropolitan Filaret, in which he asked him whether the information spread over TV, radio and the press about changing his mind to resign from the post of the Primate of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church was trustworthy. No written answer to this request ensued. Neither was there any response to the invitation to come for the present session of the Holy Synod.

RESOLVED: 1. That Metropolitan Filaret's statements with regard to the Bishops' Council be resolutely condemned, for they are at variance with the truth and delude the flock. That they be qualified as abuse of the conciliar mind of the Church acting under the guidance of the Holy Spirit.

2. That Metropolitan Filaret be enjoined to convene, not later than May 15, a Bishops' Council of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and submit at it his application about resignation from the post of the Primate of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and really resign, as he solemnly promised before the Cross and the Gospel.

3. That in view of the extraordinary situation that arose in the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, pending the Bishops' Council of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church Metropolitan Filaret be prohibited to act in the capacity of Primate, namely: to convene the Synod, consecrate hierarchs, issue ukases and appeals relating to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. The only exception is convocation of the Bishops' Council of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church to accept his resignation and elect a new Primate of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

4. That all prohibitions and punishments which have been or may be imposed on hierarchs, clerics and laymen in connection with the expression of their support for the decision of the Bishops' Council of the Russian Orthodox Church of April 2, 1992, be considered unlawful and therefore invalid.

5. That in case of non-fulfilment of the decision of the Bishops' Council of the Russian Orthodox Church and the present decision, Metropolitan Filaret be brought before the court of the Bishops' Council of the Russian Orthodox Church.

6. The present decision of the enlarged session of the Holy Synod is adopted on the basis of and in strict conformity to the letter and spirit of the Decision of the Bishops' Council of the Russian Orthodox Church of April 2, 1992, and therefore does not contradict the principle of independence and self-government of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, which was formulated by the same Bishops'

* * *

At its session of May 21, 1992, the Holy Synod, chaired by the PATRIARCH,

CONSIDERED: the situation that arose in the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in connection with the nonfulfilment by Metropolitan Filaret of Kiev and All the Ukraine of the Holy Synod decision adopted at its enlarged session held on May 6-7, 1992.

Note: On May 6-7, 1992, the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church held a session, attended, apart from the permanent and temporary members of the Holy Synod, also by other hierarchs, including those from the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. This enlarged session discussed a number of issues related to the current life of the Church and society. The Holy Synod considered the new situation in the Ukrainian Orthodox Church which had arisen in connection with the public statement made by Metropolitan Filaret of Kiev and All the Ukraine vis-a-vis the Bishops' Council of the Russian Orthodox Church held in Moscow on March 31-April 5, this year, and the decisions it adopted regarding the church situation in the Ukraine.

The Holy Synod resolutely condemned Metropolitan Filaret's statements concerning the Bishops' Council, for they did not tally with the truth and misled the flock. The Synod qualified those statements as an abuse of the conciliar wisdom of the Church. By its decision the Synod enjoined upon Metropolitan Filaret to convene, not later than May 15, this year, a Bishops' Council of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, to submit at it an application about his resignation from the post of the Primate and really resign, as he had solemnly promised before the Cross and the Gospel at the Bishops' Council of the Russian Orthodox Church.

In view of the emergency situation, which had developed in the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, the Holy Synod prohibited Metropolitan Filaret, pending the convocation of a Bishops' Council, to act as the Primate, namely, to convene the Synod, consecrate hierarchs, issue ukases and addresses, relating to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, with the exception of a Bishops' Council of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church to be held to accept his resignation and elect a new Primate.

The Synod addressed a Message to the episcopate, clerics

and laymen of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, which was published in the church press. Metropolitan Filaret did not comply with the Holy Synod decision; moreover, he did not inform anyone about the reasons for which a Bishops' Council of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church was not convened till May 15.

RESOLVED: 1) that in view of the nonfulfilment by Metropolitan Filaret of the Holy Synod decision of May 7, this year, concerning the convocation by him of a Bishops' Council of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church to accept his resignation and elect a new Primate and in accordance with the same decision prohibiting Metropolitan Filaret, pending a Bishops' Council of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, to act as the Primate, His Eminence Metropolitan Nikodim of Kharkov and Bogodukhov, the senior hierarch in terms of the time of consecration, be charged with holding, before the Feast of the Holy Trinity, a Bishops' Council of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church to elect her new Primate;

2) that it be recommended to elect, by secret ballot, a new Primate of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church from among at least three candidates nominated by a Bishops' Council of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church;

3) that pending a Bishops' Council of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, Metropolitan Nikodim of Kharkov and Bogodukhov be made acting Primate of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

ALEKSY II, Patriarch of Moscow and All Russia

MEMBERS OF THE HOLY SYNOD:

FILARET, Metropolitan of Minsk and Slutsk,

Patriarchal Exarch to All Byelorussia

IOANN, Metropolitan of St. Petersburg and Ladoga

YUVENALY, Metropolitan of Krutitsy and Kolomna

KIRILL, Metropolitan of Smolensk and Kaliningrad,

Head of the Department for External Church Relations

VLADIMIR, Metropolitan of Pskov and Velikiye Luki

YEVSEVY, Archbishop of Samara and Syzran

VLADIMIR, Archbishop of Tashkent and Central Asia

VLADIMIR, Archbishop of Kishinev and Moldova

ALEKSANDR, Bishop of Riga and Latvia

FILARET, Bishop of Astrakhan and Yenotayevka

VLADIMIR, Metropolitan of Rostov and Novocherkassk,

Chancellor of the Moscow Patriarchate

MESSAGE
from Patriarch ALEKSY II of Moscow and All Russia
and the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church
to the Episcopate, Clerics and Laymen of the
Ukrainian Orthodox Church

In the Name of the Father, and of the Son,
and of the Holy Spirit

CHRIST IS RISEN!

Beloved brothers archpastors, venerable fathers, dear brothers and sisters!

The alarming news of the latest developments in the Ukrainian Orthodox Church that reaches us, has prompted us to try and responsibly consider it at the enlarged session of the Holy Synod. We have been shocked and deeply grieved by the news that upon his return to Kiev after the Bishops' Council, Metropolitan Filaret of Kiev and All the Ukraine made a number of public statements in which he presented its work in a biased light and went back on his word in the name of church peace to submit, at the forthcoming Bishops' Council of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, an application about his resignation from the post of the Primate of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

We believe that under these circumstances the Episcopate of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church will remain true to the hierarchal oath and, in the spirit of the decisions of the Bishops' Council, held in St. Daniel's Monastery on March 31-April 4, will introduce pacification and canonical order in the life of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

In recent years the Patriarch and the Synod of the Russian Church have devoted a great deal of attention to the issue of broader independence and self-government of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. The latest, extraordinary Bishops' Council, was specially convened in connection with the request to grant autocephaly to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. However, a detailed and free discussion of this issue demonstrated that the majority of Orthodox worshippers in the Ukraine do not want now to separate from the Russian Orthodox Church. For this reason a decision was adopted to resume the consideration of the question of autocephaly at the next Local Council of the Russian Orthodox Church. It was not as a result of some pressure that Metropolitan Filaret of Kiev made at the Council a statement about his planned resignation, having agreed that under the obtaining circumstances he could not be a symbol of unity for the Orthodox worshippers of the Ukraine. At the end of the Council's sessions, standing in front of a lecturn with the Holy Cross and the Gospel on it, he assured in the hall of sessions the Patriarch and all the bishops, who took part in the Council, that he would keep his promise upon his return to Kiev. He did not reply to the Patriarch's message of April 17, this year, which had been delivered by a special messenger and contained an enquiry about Metropolitan Filaret's position with regard to the keeping of his promise to the Council. Neither did he come to attend the Holy Synod session on May 6, this year.

The stance adopted by Metropolitan Filaret has brought the Ukrainian Orthodox Church to the brink of a new schism. Many parishes of the UOC have ceased to remember his name in prayer during divine services. The clerics of the Odessa-Izmail Diocese have interrupted the prayerful-canonical communion with Metropolitan Filaret and submitted a request to be allowed to come under the direct jurisdiction of the Patriarch.

On April 30, hierarchs, members of the clergy, representatives of the monastic community and of Orthodox brotherhoods, as well as laymen of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church held a meeting in Zhitomir, which accused Metropolitan Filaret of slander against the Bishops' Council, perjury, and categorically demanded his dismissal.

In view of a sharp complication of the church situation in the Ukraine and a real threat of yet another schism, the Patriarch convened an enlarged session of the Holy Synod with the participation of a number of hierarchs of the Russian Orthodox Church, including a representative of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

The Holy Synod strongly condemned Metropolitan Filaret's statement regarding the Bishops' Council and enjoined him to convene, not later than on May 15, a Bishops' Council of the UOC, to submit at it an application for his resignation from the post of the Primate of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and really resign as he had solemnly promised to the Bishops' Council.

In view of the extraordinary situation that has arisen in the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, pending the Bishops' Council of the UOC, Metropolitan Filaret is forbidden to act as Primate, i. e., to convene the Synod, consecrate hierarchs, issue ukases and appeals relating to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. The only exception is the convocation of a Bishops' Council of the UOC for accepting Metropolitan Filaret's resignation and election of a new Primate of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

All prohibitions and punishments which have been or may be imposed on hierarchs, clerics and laymen for their support of the Decision of the Bishops' Council of the ROC of April 2, 1992, are considered to be unlawful and therefore invalid.

In case of non-fulfilment of the decision of the Bishops' Council and this Decision, Metropolitan Filaret will be brought before the court of the Bishops' Council of the Russian Orthodox Church.

We have adopted this decision in strict conformity with the Decision of the Bishops' Council of the ROC of April 2, 1992, the very same Council which in October 1990 granted independence and self-government to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. This means that the Decision now adopted rests on the authority and powers of the Bishops' Council and is therefore legitimate in the context of independence and self-government of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

We believe that the Lord, the Head of the Church, will guard the long-suffering Ukrainian flock against the grief of division and bless the Ukrainian Power with peace and prosperity.

We are praying for our relations to continue in the spirit of Christ's love and His Divine commandments.

May the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all!

Moscow,
May 7, 1992

Press Conference of His Holiness Patriarch ALEKSY II

On May 7, 1992, His Holiness Patriarch Aleksy held a press conference in the conference hall of the hotel complex of St. Daniel's Monastery, Moscow. It was devoted to the results of the enlarged session of the Holy Synod, in connection with the situation which arose in the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, and the forthcoming visit by a delegation of the Russian Orthodox Church to Cyprus, Jordan and Jerusalem. Together with His Holiness Patriarch Aleksy, taking part in the press conference were Metropolitans Yuvenaly of Krutitsy and Kolomna; Filaret of Minsk and Slutsk, Exarch to All Byelorussia; Vladimir of Rostov and Novocherkassk, Chancellor of the Moscow Patriarchate; and Kirill of Smolensk and Kaliningrad, Head of the Department for External Church Relations.

HIS HOLINESS THE PATRIARCH:

A Bishops' Council of the Russian Orthodox Church took place from March 31 to April 4. It was devoted to the question of granting complete independence and self-government to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, as was requested by bishops of this

Church in their Address. At this Council, which was held in the spirit of an open and free discussion (and this is the opinion of the entire episcopate), Metropolitan Filaret of Kiev, Head of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, promised on oath before the Cross and the Gospel, to resign from his post of the Primate of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

In view of the fact that independence and self-government had been granted to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, the Bishops' Council deemed that the resignation of Metropolitan Filaret and elections of a new Primate should take place at a Bishops' Council of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. This would rule out all accusations of interference in the internal affairs of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

It was revealed at the Council that the opinion of the Ukrainian clergy, worshippers and episcopate on the issue of separation from the Mother-Church is ambivalent. In western regions of the Ukraine it is welcomed, whereas in central and eastern ones it is categorically rejected. Prior to the Council I had received numerous appeals

and addresses from the clergy and parishioners of the Ukraine, in which people implored not to divide one Orthodox Church at this difficult time.

The Bishops' Council decided to postpone the most complex issue of autocephaly to the next Local Council. We do not rule out the possibility of granting independence to some part of the Church, but this process should take place without outside interference; it should be a purely ecclesiastical process. The granting of independence and self-government to her will become necessary when the unanimity on the question of autocephaly is achieved by the entire plenitude of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

After his return from Moscow, on the feast of the Annunciation, in the Kiev Cathedral of St. Vladimir, Metropolitan Filaret went back on his promise to resign from the post of the Primate and then, at a press conference, abused the Bishops' Council, accusing it of pressure, violation of time-limits and the Statute. Metropolitan Filaret did not reply to my letter and invitation to take part in the session of the Holy Synod.

Yesterday the Council discussed till late at night the grave situation which arose in many dioceses, parishes and cloisters of the Ukraine. The position adopted by Metropolitan Filaret was viewed there as perjury and breach of the hierarchal word; Metropolitan Filaret is not prayerfully remembered as the Primate of the Church. Requests are coming from cloisters, theological educational establishments and sometimes even from whole dioceses to grant them the stauropegion status and take them under the direct patriarchal jurisdiction.

We hope that the Ukrainian episcopate will act in the spirit and in accordance with the decisions of the Bishops' Council. This also underlies the decision and address to the episcopate, clerics and laity of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, adopted today at the enlarged session of the Holy

Synod. The decision and the address will be distributed among you. (Published in this issue.—*Ed.*)

METROPOLITAN KIRILL OF SMOLENSK AND KALININGRAD:

The Bishops' Council opened in a tense atmosphere. Some bishops, who had come from western regions of the Ukraine, were very resolute in their claim to autocephaly. This is also true of Metropolitan Filaret. In his first speech he rigidly and in plain terms demanded immediate autocephaly to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. Speeches by Ukrainian hierarchs demonstrated the entire acuteness and complexity of the issue. Many hierarchs declared that if autocephaly was granted they would not be able to return to their flock, would be banished by their people. According to the most modest estimates, 95 per cent of believers and clergymen in most of the Ukrainian dioceses strongly object to the granting of autocephaly to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church at this difficult time, the time of political instability, desintegration of the former Union and establishment of new state structures.

Taking part in the discussion were archpastors from all regions of the former USSR and from abroad. With the exception of statements of several hierarchs from the dioceses which support the idea of autocephaly, practically not a single speech sounded in support of the separation of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church from the Russian Orthodox Church. At the closing stage of the Council Metropolitan Filaret himself declared that at present autocephaly is impossible as it would lead to schism and church discord. Inasmuch as most of the speakers at the Council pointed out that, as the Primate Metropolitan Filaret is personally responsible for everything that is taking place in the Ukraine, in one of his closing speeches he acknowledged his mistakes and said that he would not repeat many of them now. Vladyka Filaret thanked the

Council for the criticism, which, as he said, was just, and declared before the Cross and the Gospel, which were in the hall, that for the sake of ecclesiastical peace it was necessary to submit an application about his resignation.

On the last day of the Council, as the minutes and records of the speeches (they are now in my hands) testify, Metropolitan Filaret reaffirmed his determination to resign from the post of the Primate and asked the Council to give him the opportunity to continue his ministry in another see of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church.

HIS HOLINESS THE PATRIARCH:

From the moment of my election to the post of the Primate of the Russian Orthodox Church I consider the strengthening of pan-Orthodox unity to be the primary task of my ministry. For the sake of this unity I have made a series of visits to the heads of Orthodox Churches. Between May 8 and 20 I am to visit Cyprus, Jordan and Jerusalem by the invitation of the Cyprian and Jerusalem Orthodox Churches. The aim and tasks of these visits are to promote mutual understanding between the Churches and Orthodox peoples of various countries in the face of the difficulties being experienced by us today.

We were shocked by the news we received a few days ago about the act of vandalism perpetrated on May 2 on Golgotha—the sacred place for all Christians, where the Saviour of the world shed His holy Blood. The cross, which had stood there for many centuries, was pulled out of the earth, the tabernacle with the Holy Gifts was broken, and the icon of the Mother of God was outraged. Yesterday I sent a telegram to Patriarch Diodoros of Jerusalem, expressing sympathy and grief over these outrages. During my stay in Jerusalem I intend to meet with representatives of the Israeli government and express my indignation over this act of vandalism.

REPLYING TO QUESTIONS
PUT BY NEWSMEN,
HIS HOLINESS
PATRIARCH ALEKSY SAID:

Outside, non-Church forces have been exerting and continue to exert influence on the settlement of the issue of independence of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. Particularly strong pressure is being brought to bear by the Ukrainian government. In his address to the Bishops' Council President Leonid Kravchuk expressed the hope that the request for granting autocephaly would be complied with. In another letter sent earlier to the Holy Synod, Leonid Kravchuk asked the Synod to approve Metropolitan Filaret as the life-long Primate of the Orthodox Church in the Ukraine. It is impossible to automatically transfer political reasons for the division of the USSR to the ecclesiastical sphere. A country divided into fifteen sovereign states cannot afford to

have fifteen Local Orthodox Churches.

We do not draw a dividing line between Ukrainian and Russian hierarchs. Hierarchs of many nationalities—Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians—fulfill their ministry in Russia. It is totally groundless to assert that Russian hierarchs do not want to grant autocephaly to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, as it is alleged in the address of the Ukrainian episcopate to the Bishops' Council of the Russian Orthodox Church. We are not divided according to the nationality principle. The Church is called upon to reconcile people, rather than exacerbate inter-ethnic conflicts.

The question is often asked: doesn't the Russian Orthodox Church aspire for political or state influence, doesn't she want to regain her pre-revolutionary privileged position? No, that position brought too much suffering and too many misfortunes to the

Church. Today we see our task in something different—in spiritual and moral education of people. They live not by bread alone; they want to hear the word of God, which will give them strength and courage to bear trials and hold out. The Church must be separated from the state; this will ensure her freedom from all kind of outside pressure.

METROPOLITAN FILARET
OF MINSK AND GRODNO:

Autocephaly, if it originates not from the Church body, if it is guided by non-Church reasons, always ends in failure. This was the case in Byelorussia and in the Ukraine. Autocephaly is granted by the Mother-Church, but is not taken. Today the Byelorussian Exarchate and the Orthodox Church of Byelorussia follow decisions of her Synod and decisions of His Holiness the Patriarch, which gives us independence within the body of the Russian Orthodox Church.

ORATION

Delivered by Patriarch ALEKSY II of Moscow and All Russia
at the Opening of the Congress of Slavonic Cultures

Moscow, May 25, 1992

Hall of Columns, Trade Union House

Dear participants in the congress!

I heartily greet you, who have come from Slavonic countries and the countries of Slavonic diaspora to this congress in order to jointly discuss questions related to the historical past and present of Slavdom.

We are glad that Moscow, the capital of Russia, where the ideas of Slavonic solidarity have always found and continue to find an eager and lively response, has become the venue of such congress.

Yesterday we participated in a momentous event—the unveiling of a monument to Sts. Cyril and Methodius, apostles of the Slavs, in the very centre of Moscow, in the square which has been called Slavonic Square. This monument is called upon to remind us about Christ's faith, which over centuries has been the source of spiritual life for Slavonic peoples. For East-Slavonic peoples, who are descendants of ancient Rusichi, this monument also bears witness to the rich sprouts that the seeds of the Slavonic church book learning, which we refer to as Sts. Cyril-Methodius' legacy, produced in the spiritual field.

The early centuries of the historical existence of the Church of Christ in Rus already witnessed a considerable multiplication of spiritual treasures of the Slavonic world. Works by Metropolitan Ilarion of Kiev, St. Feodosy of Pechery, sermons by Bishop Kirill of Turov, and exhortations by Grand Prince Vladimir Monomakh, as well as many other monuments of

early Russian literature, imbued with the fire of ardent faith and allegiance to the ecumenical Tradition of the Church, testify to such intransient Christian values as love of one's neighbour, justice, concern for the indigent, and ability to forgive offences that have struck a deep root in people's consciousness. In this way a firm moral foundation was laid, which enabled the people of Early Rus to preserve their spiritual image in spite of severe historical trials.

This year our Church marks the 600th anniversary of the blissful demise of St. Sergy, Hegumen of Radonezh, a great prayerful intercessor for the Land of Russia. The period, in which St. Sergy lived and performed his ascetic feat, became a turning point in the history of Orthodox Slavdom. It was the last century of the existence of the Byzantine Empire, and the last decades of independent existence of the Slavonic states in the Balkans. At the same time Eastern Rus already began to muster forces in order to put an end to the Tatar-Mongol yoke and become a mighty centralized state. That same period also witnessed a great upsurge of spiritual culture and church art of the Byzantine-Slavonic world. For Rus, this was a time of spiritual upbuilding. It was then that a humble monk, who retired to the Radonezh woods, attracted numerous followers with whose names the flourishing of Russian monasticism became later associated. The great moral authority, which St. Sergy won by his ascetic feats and ardent prayers, makes him the spiritual leader of the Russian people, leader, whose voice is keenly listened to and whose blessing is sought for. The saintly man built a Church of the Life-giving Trinity to remind Christians about the image of Divine love, beholding which with their spiritual eyes they are called upon to overcome the sinful division of the world. It is not fortuitous, therefore, that St. Sergy's Lavra became for many centuries a true spiritual centre of the Russian people, a repository of the priceless store of their moral treasures.

This year, a number of conferences and other solemn events, devoted to the memory of St. Sergy, will be held in Russia and other countries. Within the framework of the present congress, too, we shall hear quite a few speeches and statements associated with the life and activity of the saint and his time. May it help us, people of Russia, to understand his spiritual behests better, so that we could build the future of our country on a firm moral foundation, without which all social and economic projects are doomed to be unviable.

The Slavonic peoples, who live on the territory of the former Soviet Union, have now faced a new historical reality and are called upon to build their life within the framework of their own statehood. But, the maintenance of the spiritual, moral and cultural community of these peoples, whose centuries-old brotherhood is a mighty factor of stability in Europe and in the rest of the world, should become for them yet another calling, which is no less important, in my opinion. The Orthodox faith has always been the pivot of the spiritual unity of the Slavonic peoples, and we must keep it with particular care and thoroughness, paying tribute to tradition and renewing our piety spiritually.

I address my particular greetings to those congress participants who came to Moscow from various lands, far and near. We have assembled here at a time which is very hard for the destinies of Slavdom, the time when disintegration of the former state-political formations has led some Slavonic peoples to confrontation, which, to our great regret, sometimes results in bloodshed. As we discuss here issues related to present-day life of Slavdom, we should remember the enormous responsibility before God and succeeding generations, responsibility which we bear as the descendants of those who received the word of Christ's good tidings from Sts. Cyril and Methodius and their followers. May this congress make a worthy contribution to the search for ways that would lead the peoples of the Slavonic countries to peace, fraternal cooperation and prosperity.

I prayerfully wish the congress blessed successes in its work. May this meeting strengthen the spirit of brotherhood among the Slavs and serve the cause of their spiritual rebirth.

**Oration Delivered by His Holiness Patriarch ALEKSY II
of Moscow and All Russia
at the Unveiling of the Monument to Sts. CYRIL and METHODIUS,
Apostles of the Slavs**

Moscow, May 24, 1992

Your Eminences the archpastors, esteemed leaders of Russia and Moscow, venerable fathers, beloved brothers and sisters!

Christ is risen!

On the days when our Church experiences the paschal joy of Christ Risen, we become participants in a momentous event which is bound to go down in the history of Russia and the entire Slavonic world.

The unveiling of the monument of the apostles of the Slavs, Sts. Cyril and Methodius, in the very centre of Moscow, is not merely a cultural event. This is not only a tribute of profound respect for those whose selfless feat laid foundations for the Slavonic spiritual culture. The monument, which has now appeared before our eyes, is a living testimony and symbol of our people's return to their spiritual values. The return to its sources is of a greater and much more profound importance for the destinies of the Slavonic world than all other social processes. Successes in politics, economy and other spheres of human endeavour will yield positive results only if the process will be based on a spiritual and moral renewal. And we are regaining this now!

What did the saintly Thessalonica brothers bring to the Slavs? What contribution did they make to the spiritual basis of people's life? Together with their disciples and followers, Sts. Cyril and Methodius brought to our ancestors the good news of God glorified in the Holy Trinity and incarnated in the only begotten Son of God our Lord Jesus Christ, who performed the feat of the salvation of the human race and granted the hope of Life Eternal to all who believe in Him.

From historical sources we know that the Holy Gospel was the first book to be translated by the Thessalonica brothers into the language which was destined to become the literary language of most of the Slavonic peoples for many centuries. And the first text from it, which they translated, was the one read in the church on the first day of Christ's Easter. Such sequence in the work of the holy brothers was not fortuitous, for their primary concern was the enlightenment of the Slavs with the light of Christ's salvific faith. This faith became the basis of the spiritual life of the Slavonic peoples. When it was brought to Holy Rus one thousand years ago, our ancestors received, in a language comprehensible to them, the Holy Scripture, liturgical books, translations of works by the Holy Fathers, and the living word of



His Holiness Patriarch Aleksey during Divine Liturgy at the Dormition Cathedral of the Kremlin on the feast of Sts. Cyril and Methodius, May 24, 1992

the church sermon. All this was made possible by the labours of Sts. Cyril and Methodius, the labours and efforts of those who followed them.

The Land of Russia became a fertile soil on which the seed of Slavonic church book learning produced abundant sprouts of faith and piety. Because of its historical position, Rus became the main

tabernacle and disseminator of the spiritual treasures which are based on the heritage of Sts. Cyril and Methodius.

In the last century we have been witnessing a striking upsurge in the veneration of the Slavonic apostles both in the East and in the West of Europe. And this is not fortuitous either. This turning to the memory of Sts. Cyril and Methodius should point to us the enormous role played by the Slavonic peoples in the spiritual, cultural and political history of Europe and also in its present day.

To our great regret, by far not everything now goes well in relationships between various branches of one Slavonic tree. The ecumenical Plenitude of Orthodoxy grieves at seeing how the estrangement and division are raising barriers between brother-Slavs, how the primary and most important value of the earthly world—the God-like free personality—is being trampled upon in bloodsheds. This prompts us still more urgently to ask for intercession of the Slavonic apostles, beseeching them to pray to the Lord to grant peace and prosperity to all Slavonic countries, to fill the hearts of all their residents with the spirit of brotherly love.

May the Lord help us become worthy spiritual

children of the first Slavonic teachers! May He drive away from our hearts all kind of animosity, untruth, envy and hatred! May He not allow the consanguineous and coreligionist peoples to become enemies to each other! May He teach us to love people the way Sts. Cyril and Methodius did, who devoted their lives to the service of the people that were remote to them in human terms but close in terms of Christian love.

Lately the tradition revived to commemorate days of Slavonic cultures and written language. This celebration should unite us all and help us overcome discord and divisions of this world.

Today we are all together—statesmen, representatives of the Church, the public and people of various political and social opinions and outlooks; we have been united by the holiday of Slavonic cultures and written language, the memory of the holy enlighteners of the Slavonic peoples.

Now an ever-burning lampada will be lighted before the images of the Slavonic apostles. The grace-endowed flame for it has been brought from the Life-bearing Sepulchre of the Lord in Jerusalem, traversing the road across the places where the holy brothers, Equal to the Apostles, preached in the

His Holiness Patriarch Aleksy reading a prayer before the consecration of the monument to Sts. Cyril and Methodius





His Holiness Patriarch Aleksy bestowing a blessing upon the participants in the ceremony of the unveiling of the monument to Sts. Cyril and Methodius

past. May its light always remind us about Christ's unfading light, enlightening all people. For more than a millennium already, this light has been illumining Slavonic peoples, and it is in this light that they can gain an inexhaustible fount of spiritual revival and prosperity of their countries, which is impossible if people forget God's Truth.

We are grateful to social forces for the initiative supported by the Head of our state, Russia, to immortalize the feat of the holy brothers by unveiling a worthy monument to them.

We are grateful to those who took upon themselves the feat of carrying the lampada with the grace-filled flame across the places and countries of

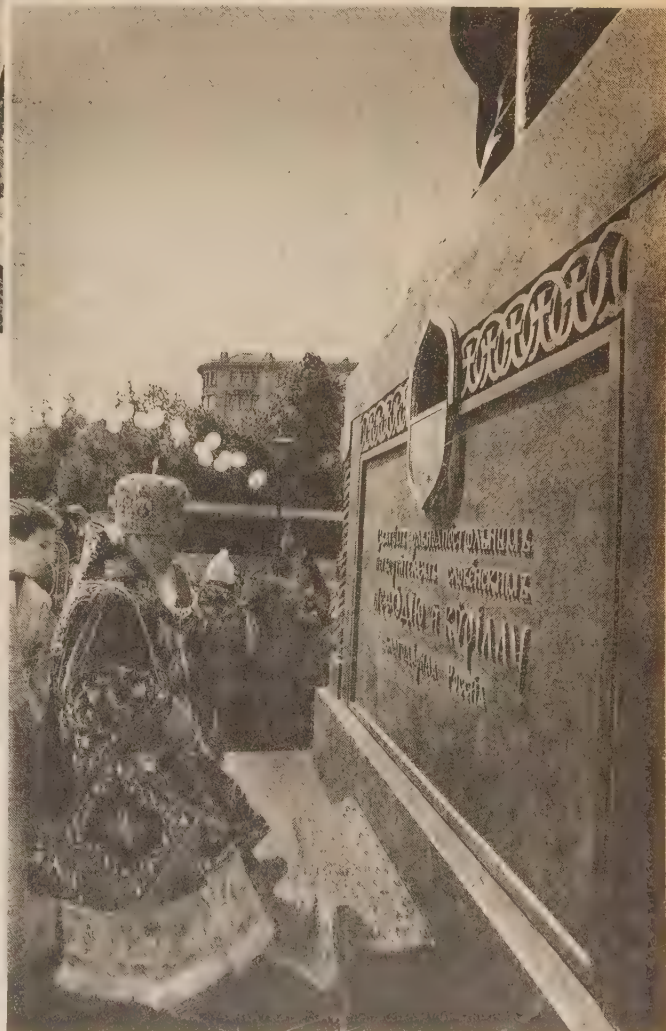
His Holiness Patriarch Aleksy putting a lampada with the grace-giving light into the niche of the monument

Cyril-Methodius' heritage. I assume that the holy brothers' preaching was not equally perceived and accepted by their contemporaries, but they were convinced that their sacred cause would live on and it does!

Today, too, along the route of the grace-filled flame it was also treated in different ways by our brother-Slavs, but the light of Christ enlightens every man in this world whose heart is open for love, truth and peace.

We are grateful to the author of the monument, who created the images of the holy brothers honouring their feat of enlightenment.

Let us now offer up our prayers to the holy teachers of the Slavs, Sts. Cyril and Methodius Equal to the Apostles, so that their intercession before the Throne of the Most High might bring the Slavonic peoples hope for spiritual efflorescence, peaceful life and creative labour in the family of European peoples at this crucial moment in their history. Amen.



His Holiness the Patriarch Visits St. Petersburg

On April 29, 1992, Wednesday of the Holy Week, His Holiness Patriarch Aleksy II of Moscow and All Russia visited St. Petersburg. At the St. Isaac Cathedral His Holiness celebrated Divine Liturgy and then conducted funeral service for the departed head of the Russian royal family, Grand Prince Vladimir Kirillovich. Assisting His Holiness were Metropolitan Ioann of St. Petersburg and Ladoga, Bishops Lev of Novgorod and Staraya Russa and Arseny of Istra and numerous clergy of St. Petersburg. Members of the Grand Prince's family, members of the Union of the descendants of the Russian nobility, and residents of the city attended the service.

Before the funeral service His Holiness Patriarch Aleksy II of Moscow and All Russia made an oration (published below). After the service the coffin with the body of the Grand Prince was taken to St. Nicholas's Church of St. Nicholas's Cemetery at the walls of the St. Aleksandr Nevsky Lavra where it is to remain until the restoration of the family vault at the Sts. Peter and Paul Cathedral of the Sts. Peter and Paul Fortress is completed. At St. Nicholas's Church Bishop Arseny conducted a litiya for the departed at the coffin of the Grand Prince.

On the same day in the evening, His Holiness conducted Vespers at the upper church of the St. Ioann

Convent on the Karpovka assisted by three archpastors. After the Entrance His Holiness elevated Nun Serafima, Mother Superior of the Convent, to the rank of hegumene and handed her a pectoral cross, and after the service—a staff.

Following the service, at the repast, representatives of St. Petersburg Mayor's office handed His Holiness Patriarch Aleksy, Hegumene Serafima and Sister Daniila medals "For the Resurrection of the St. Ioann Convent of St. Petersburg".

In the evening of the same day His Holiness left for Moscow.

Ye. K.

Oration of His Holiness ALEKSY II of Moscow and All Russia Before the Funeral Service for the Grand Prince Vladimir Kirillovich

April 29, 1992, St. Isaac Cathedral, St. Petersburg

CHRIST IS RISEN!

Your Eminences the archpastors, beloved fathers, brothers and sisters,

It was the will of the All-Merciful Lord that we gather in these Easter days under the vaults of the majestic St. Isaac Cathedral to attend the funeral service of Grand Prince Vladimir Kirillovich, head of the Russian dynasty for over half a century, who has gone *the way of all the earth* (Josh. 23.14).

I would like to express my deep sympathy and condolences to Their Majesties Leonida Georgiyevna, Maria Vladimirovna and Georgy Mikhailovich and to all the near and dear ones of the Grand Prince.

Grand Prince Vladimir Kirillovich was born on August 17, 1917, in the town of Borgo, Finland. His parents, Grand Prince Kirill Vladimirovich and Grand Princess Viktoria Fyodorovna, brought up their son in the love of God and Russia. Kirill Vladimirovich, who passed away in 1938, being the head of the Romanov family, had prepared his son for the role of his worthy successor capable of beneficently continuing the service of his royal ancestors for the good of the Motherland.

All his life Vladimir Kirillovich lived outside

Russia, in Germany, Switzerland, Spain and France. But everywhere he was an exile for his thoughts and feelings were concentrated on the country he considered to be his Homeland. He never accepted citizenship of a state he lived in. The only motive of his life was to do his best in serving Russia. He thought it to be his sacred duty and all through his far from easy life he was fulfilling the mission the way he could, the way he saw it. It is characteristic that during World War II, being in France at the time, he established ties with German officers oppositionally-minded towards the fascist regime which enabled him to efficiently help the Soviet POWs. In 1944 he was arrested and deported to Germany.

His exodus to the promised land, i. e., Russia, had lasted all through his life. He was always acutely aware of being an inalienable part of her people. And his faith and long-suffering were not in vain (see Heb. 6.12). The Lord had mercy and literally at the threshold of his passing away to the other world he stepped on his native soil. At the kind invitation of the Mayor of St. Petersburg the Grand Prince spent a few days in our city and attended the solemn



His Holiness Patriarch Aleksy II of Moscow and All Russia, Metropolitan Ioann of St. Petersburg and Ladoga, and Bishops Lev of Novgorod and Arseny of Istra celebrating funeral liturgy at the St. Isaac Cathedral in St. Petersburg for the deceased Grand Prince Vladimir Kirillovich, head of the Russian Royal Dynasty. On the left — eleven-year-old heir, Grand Prince Georgy Mikhailovich. April 29, 1992

Vespers and moleben at the St. Isaac Cathedral conducted on the occasion of the return to the great city of its historical name in November last year.

I cherish the memory of the meeting, talks and of the common prayer with the deceased at the tomb of the Righteous St. Ioann of Kronshtadt in the St. Ioann Convent in St. Petersburg.

I was deeply impressed by his profound faith and his love for Russia and her people, and his desire to help.

We know of the good memories he left behind after his visit to our city. Dignity, kindness, openness, tact and other noble qualities of human nature he possessed made for sympathy and trust. Let us recall what he said in his talks with representatives of the mass media about some ways and means of the normalization of life in our once united country, now the Commonwealth of Independent States. Let us recall his striving, upon his return from Russia, to do his best for promoting anything that might serve for good of the CIS countries, the trip to the USA, hard for him considering the critical state of his health, he made to draw the American business circles in the campaign of aid to our Motherland, and, finally, his sudden death during the fulfilment of the mission.

Vladimir Kirillovich intended to visit his Homeland again. And he did come. But this time to stay here in fulfilment of his wish to be buried in Russia.

Vladimir Kirillovich passed into the Lord in the days of the Holy Week. On Great Thursday we prayed

for the deceased for the first time at our Moscow Cathedral Church. On that day, during Divine Liturgy the Gospel reading heralds eternity in store for us and asks everyone of us whether we are ready to accept it. What might the answer of the deceased be? Only the Lord the Seer of Hearts knows it. We know of the profound faith of the deceased, his obedience to God's will, his fear of God, his devotion to the Holy Church. And we believe that the Prince of Life and Death will forgive the voluntary and involuntary sins of His faithful and wise servant who, like the wise virgins kept oil in his vessel awaiting the meeting with the Son of Man (see Mt. 25.4). We also believe that the deceased in his lifetime multiplied the talents granted him by the Lord and will hear His call: *enter thou into the joy of thy lord* (Mt. 25.21). So let us fortify this belief by a zealous prayer for the deceased. Let us pray too for his good answer to the Lord at the Last Judgment (see Mt. 25.34-40).

And today, on Wednesday of Easter Week, we are conducting the funeral service for the deceased. The first prayer we address to the Lord is triumphant and radiant: "Christ is risen from the dead, trampling Death by death, and to those in the tomb, He hath granted Life." This Paschal hymn confirms in our consciousness the truth of Eternal Life. It is not for good that we part with the deceased, we part in flesh, part for a time. Our zealous prayer for him binds us with him inseparably until we meet in the Heavenly Mansions. According to the words of the Saviour it is the prayer that prevents us from fainting (see Lk. 18.1), and it is fainting that Apostle St. Paul warns us against (Eph. 3.13).

A great doctor of the Church St. John Chrysostom in his sermon on the radiant day of Easter witnesses the victory of Christ the Giver of Life over Death: "O Death, where is thy sting? O Hell, where is thy victory? Christ is risen, and thou art overthrown. Christ is risen, and the demons are fallen. Christ is risen, and the angels rejoice. Christ is risen, and life reigns. Christ is risen, and not one dead remains in the grave. For Christ, being risen from the dead, is become the first-fruits of those who have fallen asleep. To Him be glory and dominion unto ages of ages. Amen."

Let us offer up our zealous prayers to the Lord. May He give rest to the soul of His newly departed servant, Grand Prince Vladimir Kirillovich, in the Heavenly Mansions and grant him to partake of Eternal joy in the ever radiant day of Christ's Kingdom.

CHRIST IS RISEN!

Interview by His Holiness Patriarch ALEKSY II of Moscow and All Russia to Georgy Getsov, *Podmoskovye* Newspaper Correspondent

March 21, 1992

CHRIST IS RISEN!

Your Holiness, the view is current that the ideal model, from the point of view of the Church herself, of relations between the Church and the state is allegedly the "concordance" Old Rus has once taken over from Byzantium. In this context, church and state power may be likened to the soul and the body, and it is on their accord that the supreme good of the state is established. However, already in the mid-16th century growing differences between church and state power became evident as well as the striving of the latter to bend the Church to its influence.

The mission of the Church on earth is to lead her flock to salvation, to the Kingdom of Heaven, to spiritual and moral perfection in conditions of any state-political structure. Therefore, neither "concordance", nor dominant position in the country or a status of the state Church is our aim.

Social conditions under which the Church fulfils her mission change. And I believe that in Kievan feudal Rus, in the period of the domination of the Moscow rulers, in imperial Russia, and in Soviet Russia stifled by the propagation of godlessness, the Russian Orthodox Church proved her ability to fulfil this mission by the faithfulness of God's people to the Church, feats of her saints, and the blood of her martyrs.

Today certain publicists and politicians try to identify the Russian Orthodox Church with some splinter of the authoritarian administrative system. But the view will hardly be accepted. It should be understood that neither Faith nor the Church can be turned into a tool to be used by man for his purposes: the Lord will not tolerate it.

The Church has no recipes for ordering society as a whole, for solving its social, economic, political and other problems. But we Christians must firmly abide in our earthly calling (1 Cor. 7. 20), care for the good of our people, cooperating with our compatriots in building a harmonious society and a law-governed state. And we should realize that we can successfully abide in our calling only on the basis of personal faith and piety, churchism and high morals.

Man comes to the church to meet Christ, to be called to follow Him the way His first disciples did (Mt. 4. 18-22). As to the Church, she considers it her mission to lead the people of God to salvation which is the purpose of Christian life and is achieved through faith and good works (Jas. 2. 14-26).

The state and most various, sometimes mutually excluding, trends turn to the spiritual authority of the Church and the Patriarch in search of support. The first Russian President has received your blessing and admonition; in the heart of Russia, Red Square, You have again laid the foundation of a church. Do not You think, Your Holiness, that the Church is binding herself with some definite political block?

The golden maxim Patriarch Tikhon of All Russia came to accept through much suffering in the beginning of the 1920s is: the Church is apolitical under conditions of any state system. We are true to the behest today too.

For two millennia now the Orthodox Church has been preaching one and the same spiritual values; dozens of state systems and hundreds and thousands of problems replaced one another over the period. And always, as today too, the Church supported the programmes and decisions, no matter what political course inspired them, which turned out to be capable of positively influencing the destinies of the people she is called upon to lead to salvation and Life Eternal. I hope that since now on it is such decisions that the leaders of Russia will take.

During my meetings with the public I often hear politicians, economists, businessmen and professionals say: "Our Orthodox Church." Of course it is pleasant to hear such words. But in what sense is the pronoun "our" used? Does it mean that claims are laid to the Church, i. e., "my" Church should bless what I need, or, after all, what is meant is one's belonging to the Church, the way we say: "my homeland"? I hope the latter.

Naturally, no one—neither layman nor cleric, hierarch or Patriarch—should enter the Church filled with one's false righteousness, like Pharisees (Mt. 23.13-36). We can enter the Church like a prodigal son, full of contrition for spiritual gifts wasted in vain. It is only then that the Lord will receive us in His fatherly embrace.

You often speak of the banefulness of proselytism, that is activity of one Church in the midst of the followers of another Church to make them change their confession and come within the fold of the proselytizing Church. But are not the ever more frequent acts of proselytism a manifestation of our pluralistic epoch?

In Rome, for instance, there is an Orthodox parish, and there is a Roman Catholic one in Moscow. That is in the order of things. It is in the order of

things too that Orthodox pastors are happy when the Orthodox flock to their churches, and Catholic pastors—when their churches are filled with Catholics. But the question is whether pastors of parishes located on the canonical territory of another Church have ample opportunities to tend their flock or this flock is tempted in various ways to embrace another faith, in this case—the Roman Catholic.

I would like to cite the statement of the Joint Commission on theological dialogue between the Local Orthodox Churches and the Roman Catholic Church adopted in Freising on June 6-15, 1990: "The term Union reflects in this case the desire to reach Church unity through schism in Orthodox communities without taking into account the fact that in ecclesiological terms the Orthodox Church is a Sister Church manifesting grace and salvation. Therefore ...we renounce Union as a means of gaining unity because it contradicts the common tradition of our Churches; ...any striving to attract believers of one Church to the other, called proselytism, must be ruled out as a perversion of pastoral activities." Unfortunately the Roman Catholic side does not follow it and engages in proselytizing among the Orthodox in our country.

We are concerned with the problem of choosing new confessions, and it is primarily connected with the Roman Catholic expansion. It manifested itself first in Galicia, then spread to the whole of the Ukraine, and also to Byelorussia, Central Russia and even Siberia and the Far East.

One of the zealots of the past said: "The Lord is not the Father for the one for whom the Church is not the Mother." Is it natural for a man to reject his parents and earthly homeland and choose the mother or father or country he likes better? I do not think so. The same is true of Faith and the Church.

A man who has betrayed his mother, his Motherland is considered deficient by the people. The betrayal of one's Church also testifies to a considerable moral shift, and not for the better. *Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you*, the Lord said to His disciples the apostles (Jn. 15. 16). We do not choose faith and the Church, they choose us to serve them.

It is believed to be the fault of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church that the Union and Roman Catholicism in general have achieved such successes. Do you share the view?

The Union and the uncanonical autocephaly make their way through largely by political methods. As to the Union, the Lvov Church Council, held by a Uniate initiative group in May 1946, annulled the Union which was declared in 1596 in Brest by the Rzeczpospolita rulers and the Roman Catholic Church and which tore the Orthodox population of the Polish-Lithuanian state away from their Mother Church. The Lvov Church Council convened in the post-war Western Ukraine had a political aspect too. It was conditioned by the peculiarities of the political regime in our country and by the aftereffects of World War II in the region. At the time the Greek

Catholic Church lost her hierarchs accused of collaboration with fascist Germany. The Council participants addressed Patriarch Aleksy of Moscow and All Russia with an appeal to recognize the decision of the Council and accept the Greek Catholic clergy and laymen who agreed with the Council decision within the fold of the Russian Orthodox Church. His Holiness the Patriarch complied with the request of the Greek Catholics in the Western Ukraine. That provided for the preservation of their church structure and their canonical guidance within an apostolic Church, which our Church is.

The conscience of opponents of our Church in the Western Ukraine is evidently not troubled by the fact that they are abusing the Church whose sufferings are incomparable with those of other Churches, that our difficulties today, when we have to deal with a host of accumulated problems, are caused not so much by inner Church issues but rather by those of the ailing society within which she is fulfilling her salvific mission.

Your Holiness, we know that at her Bishops' Council in September and at the Local Council the Ukrainian Orthodox Church set a course for complete independence from the Moscow Patriarchate. Her leaders believe that it will strengthen the positions of the Orthodox in countering the onslaught of the Catholics...

In October last year the Russian Orthodox Church granted her Ukrainian Exarchate independence in administrative matters and in solving questions of inner life and transformed it into the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. However, being part of the Moscow Patriarchate this Church remained in canonical communion with all Orthodox Churches.

In the Orthodox world canonical autocephaly is granted by the Mother Church but it must be recognized by other Autocephalous Orthodox Churches.

The appeal to grant autocephaly addressed by the Local Council of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church to the Moscow Patriarchate will certainly be considered at the next Bishops' and Local Councils. The issue may be solved, as I have already mentioned, only by the Plenitude of our Holy Church and in agreement with the other Autocephalous Orthodox Churches.

Your Holiness, is it so pernicious for a Russian to embrace Catholicism or, say, Protestantism? Is it worthwhile to give so much attention to the issue at a time when the country is burdened with a lot of other problems?

We have already gone through a sad experience of the bolsheviks trying, over seventy-odd years, to build an entirely new world after an artificial scheme without taking the past into account, which ended in a crash. I would call an attempt to willfully change the historically shaped religious mentality of the people a religious bolshevism. Now, in a brief interview, I will not deal with our dogmatic and canonical differences with the Roman Catholic Church. They do exist and are a subject of theological research.

The preservation of or return to one's religious roots has a bearing, I am convinced, on the growth of human wellbeing. *But seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you*, said the Saviour (Mt. 6.33).

I have often been asked how Orthodoxy treats commerce, economic activity in general, and whether I think that Western Christian confessions prevailing in industrial states make more for economic development than Orthodoxy most of whose followers live in the country where totalitarian regime dominated.

The best answer would be to point to the state of Russian national economy at the beginning of the current century when managed by Orthodox businessmen.

Since our school days the maxim that "being determines consciousness" has been hammered into our heads. Fortunately, the opposite is the case; and if we come back to the church way of thinking and the church way of life of our Russian ancestors we will emerge from the crisis in other—material—spheres of life as well.

COMMUNIQUE

on a Visit by His Holiness Patriarch ALEKSY II of Moscow and All Russia to Cyprus

On May 8-14, 1992, His Holiness Patriarch Aleksy II of Moscow and All Russia paid an official visit to Cyprus on the invitation of His Beatitude Archbishop Chrysostomos, Archbishop of New Justiniana and All Cyprus. His Holiness the Patriarch was accompanied by Metropolitan Kirill of Smolensk and Kaliningrad, Head of the Department for External Church Relations; Bishop Viktor of Podolsk, Head of the Economic Management Department of the Moscow Patriarchate; Bishop Vikenty of Bendery; Bishop Innokenty of Khabarovsk and Blagoveshchensk; Archimandrite Veniamin, Father Superior of the Ugresha Monastery of St. Nicholas; protodeacon Vladimir Nazarkin, Boris Nelyubov, Nikolai Derzhavin, Yevgeny Komarov, Nikolai Muravlev.

In the Larnaka airport His Holiness Patriarch Aleksy II was welcomed by His Beatitude Archbishop Chrysostomos of Cyprus with members of the Holy Synod and hierarchs of the Church of Cyprus. Among those who came to welcome Patriarch Aleksy were Minister of Education Chrystophoros Chrystophidis, a representative of the Government of the Republic of Cyprus; Boris Zenkov, Ambassador of Russia to Cyprus; Charalambos Chrystophoru, Ambassador of Cyprus to Russia, and other officials.

In his trips in Cyprus His Holiness Patriarch Aleksy II was accompanied by His Beatitude Archbishop Chrysostomos. His Holiness Patriarch Aleksy II visited the Monastery of the Theotokos in Kikko, where he conducted a litiya and laid a wreath to the tomb of Archbishop Makarios III of blessed memory. He also conducted a litiya and laid a wreath on the graves of prisoners—heroes of the liberation war in Nicosia.

On May 9, the Primates of the Russian Church and the Church of Cyprus were received by President Georgio Vasilu of the Republic of Cyprus. On May 13, he gave an official dinner in honour of Patriarch Aleksy II of Moscow and All Russia. On May 9, His Holiness the Patriarch visited the Russian embassy where he had a meeting with the Russian Ambassador to Cyprus, Boris Zenkov.

On May 10, His Holiness Patriarch Aleksy II and His Beatitude Archbishop Chrysostomos celebrated Divine Liturgy in the Annunciation Cathedral in Nicosia. They were assisted by the hierarchs and clerics of the Russian Orthodox Church, who accompanied Patriarch Aleksy, members of the Holy Synod and clerics of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus. At the end of the Liturgy His Beatitude Archbishop Chrysostomos decorated His Holiness Patriarch Aleksy with the Great Order of St. Varnava the Apostle.

During his stay in the Church of Cyprus as a guest, His Holiness Patriarch Aleksy II, accompanied by Archbishop Chrysostomos, visited the Paphos, Kit and Limassol metropolitanates, monasteries and convents, and a number of archaeological sites.

In the course of the meetings and talks, held between the Primates of the Russian and Cypriot Orthodox Churches, both sides pointed to an urgent need for an earliest peaceful settlement of the Cyprus issue, so that the people of Cyprus could live in one, united and independent state guaranteeing equal rights and security for all its citizens. In the unanimous opinion of both sides the settlement of the Cyprus issue should provide for demilitarization

of the island and the speediest return of refugees to their family hearths, so that Greek-Cypriots and Turks-Cypriots could live at home in conditions of freedom, security and equality.

The Primates emphasized the importance of fraternal ties between the two Churches and the need for strengthening pan-Orthodox unity and cooperation.

The two sides resolutely condemned the unlawful actions of the Uniates in the Western Ukraine, where many Orthodox worshippers had not only been deprived of places for prayer but also had been reduced to the status of a discriminated minority. The Primates expressed profound concern over the Roman Catholic expansion on the canonical territory of the Moscow Patriarchate and also over the proselytic activity of Protestant fundamentalists.

Both sides devoted special attention to the situation that had arisen as a result of the schismatic activity of the so-called Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church and the Russian Church Outside Russia. Having unanimously condemned their activity on the canonical territory of the Moscow Patriarchate, both Primates declared that any attempts to break the unity of the Local Orthodox Church are a grave sin before God and the entire Plenitude of Orthodoxy. Schismatics, no matter where they may live and whatever the reasons they put forward to justify their anticanonical activity, should know that, acting contrary to the canons, they doom themselves to spiritual death.

On May 14, the Primates of the Russian and Cypriot Churches had a farewell meeting during which Patriarch Aleksy invited Archbishop Chrysostomos to visit the Russian Orthodox Church on an official basis. The date of the visit will be agreed upon later.

That same day Patriarch Aleksy II of Moscow and All Russia and his party left Cyprus for home.

*His Holiness Patriarch
of Moscow and All Russia
ALEKSY II*

*His Beatitude Archbishop
of New Justiniana and All Cyprus
CHRYSOSTOMOS*

Archimandrite KONSTANTIN Goryanov Nominated and Consecrated Bishop of Novogrudok

By a decision of His Holiness Patriarch Aleksy II of Moscow and All Russia and the Holy Synod Archimandrite Konstantin Goryanov, rector of the Minsk Theological Seminary, was designated Bishop of Novogrudok, Vicar of the Minsk Diocese.

On June 15, 1991, the office of nomination of Archimandrite Konstantin as Bishop of Novogrudok was conducted in Minsk's Cathedral Church of the Holy Spirit by Patriarch Aleksy II of Moscow and All Russia, Metropolitan Filaret of Minsk and Grodno (now of Minsk and Slutsk), who is Patriarchal Exarch to All Byelorussia, Archbishops Maksim of Moghilev and Mstislav, Yevgeny of Tambov and Michurinsk, Bishops Konstantin of Brest and Kobrin, Dmitry of Polotsk and Vitebsk, Arseny of Istra, Stefan of Pinsk and Luninets, and Aristarkh of Gomel and Mozyr.

During the office of nomination Archimandrite Konstantin delivered an oration in which he described his road to the hierarchal dignity and asked the archpastors, who took part in the ceremony, to offer up prayers to God, beseeching Him to bestow upon him His grace, "which healeth that which is infirm and completeth that which is wanting".

On June 16, the third Sunday after Pentecost, the Feast of the Synaxis of Byelorussian saints, His Holiness Patriarch Aleksy II of Moscow and All Russia and the hierarchs who had taken part in the nomination ceremony, consecrated Archimandrite Konstantin Bishop of Novogrudok, Vicar of the Minsk Diocese, during

Divine Liturgy celebrated in the Zhirovitsy Monastery of the Dormition.

Presenting the hierarchal crozier to the newly-consecrated bishop, His Holiness Patriarch Aleksy II of Moscow and All Russia delivered an exhortation, in which he said, among other things:

"...A few centuries ago our co-religionist brothers and sisters by craftiness and force were alienated from the Orthodox Church. Many of them eventually returned to her precincts... Today attempts are being made again to alienate them from Holy Orthodoxy and drive them into a Union, using impious anti-Christian methods. Many decades have passed since the reunion; many generations of people were born who grew spiritually in Orthodoxy, receiving spiritual guidance in Orthodox churches; young people were brought up and got theological education in our theological schools. The destinies of Holy Orthodoxy have never been easy and favourable here, in the western region, and they are not easy and simple today either.

"As the closest assistant of the archpastor, who administers the dioceses now being threatened with an expansion of the Roman Catholic Church, you are to zealously and assiduously guard the purity of the Orthodox faith against alien influences, by undiminishing care to inspire the activity of clergymen, to warn future pastors of our Holy Church about the difficulties they will encounter in their pastoral endeavour, and by a pious example

to impart vitality to the zeal of religious people.

"Today the development of normal life of the Church is hampered by anticanonical actions of the autocephalists in the Ukraine, by the arbitrary activity of the so-called Russian Church Outside Russia, and by extreme Protestant groups. Attempts are being stepped up to revive paganism. Withstand all this with a calm staunchness, without irritation, even if you encounter their vehement resistance.

"Guard the holy canons, as you promised on oath before the entire Church: compiled by the holy apostles and wise-in-God fathers, they determine the order and style of Christian life and, adopted by the Church at Holy Councils as guidance to all believers, they are an obligatory rule for both archpastors and the flock....

"Constantly call your flock for tolerance, mutual understanding, good cooperation, peaceful settlement of all difficult problems facing the country's residents.

"Our society is in the process of renewal and spiritual rebirth; we now have the rights and liberties we could not even dream of recently. *Only use not liberty for an occasion to the flesh*, St. Paul the Apostle warns us, *but by love serve one another. For all the law is fulfilled in one word, even in this; Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. But if ye bite and devour one another, take heed that ye be not consumed one of another.*

"Now, the Apostle continues, *the works of the flesh are manifest which are these: adultery, fornication, uncleanness, lasciv-*

viousness, idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, seditions, heresies, envyings, murders, drunkenness, revelings, and such like... But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance... (Gal. 5. 13-15, 19-23).

Beloved brother, serve the Lord with fear (Ps. 2.11), diligently and assiduously, lest you should fall from grace (Gal. 5.4) granted to you now, set hopes on God's grace and His help, rejoice before Him with trepidation, realizing your own unworthiness, and with a feeling of genuine and unhypocritical love of Him.

"May the intercession of the Most Pure Mother of God, in front of whose Zhirovitsy Icon your episcopal consecration is taking place, strengthen you and become a support and protection for you in the coming ministry.

"Take this crozier as a symbol of the power entrusted to you in the Church of Christ not for the ruin but for the good of the flock.

May it serve as a sacred reminder to you that the holy hierarchs, your predecessors on this holy land, bishops, whose names are being honoured today—Mina, Dionisy and Simeon of Polotsk, Kirill and Lavrenty of Turov—used it as a necessary staff for a person tired by the feats of bringing Christ's good tidings.

"And now, from the grace granted to you, bestow your blessing upon the people of God, who prayerfully participate in your consecration."

* * *

Bishop Konstantin (secular name Oleg Konstantinovich Goryanov) was born in the aul of Kenessy, Sverdlovsk District, Dzhabul Region, on March 23, 1951. In 1974 he graduated from Vinnitsa Medical Institute. Having defended his Candidate's dissertation, he worked as a senior instructor at the Smolensk Medical Institute. From the early 1983 fulfilled obediences in the Zhironitsy Monastery of the Dormition. That same

year entered the Moscow Theological Seminary (second course).

On April 14, 1986, was professed, and on May 4, Bishop Aleksandr (now archbishop) of Dmitrov, Rector of the Moscow Theological Seminary and Academy, ordained him hierodeacon, and on June 12, hieromonk. The next four years he fulfilled the obediences of a guide of the Church Archaeological Cabinet and continued his doctor's practice. On April 24, 1989, was awarded a pectoral cross.

In 1989 graduated from the Moscow Theological Academy and was left there as a professorial grant-aided student and teacher of the Holy Scripture at the Moscow Theological Seminary. On March 2, 1990, was raised to the dignity of hegumen and awarded an ornamented cross. On the following day became one of the brethren of the Zhironitsy Monastery of the Dormition. On March 31, 1990, was conferred upon a scholarly degree of Candidate of Theology. On September 2, 1990, was elevated to the dignity of archimandrite. His decorations include the Medal of St. Sergy of Radonezh and the Order of St. Mark the Apostle (2nd Class). From March 20, 1990, rector of the Minsk Theological Seminary.

The Church Has Retained Unity

In an autocephalous church in Chernovtsy the author of this article has seen lecterns painted ... in yellow-blue colours of the Ukrainian flag. Can anyone imagine three-coloured lecterns in a Russian church? Regrettably, a small-nation complex, which for some reason has appeared in a great, Ukrainian one, can be seen not only in this. One of the priests from the Chernovtsy Diocese told me that when he gave catechetical lessons in a secondary technical school, its principal asked him: "When you tell pupils about the creation of the world, say that this is how the Ukraine was created by God. And that Adam and Eve were the first Ukrainians"...

This could well be taken as an anecdote were it not for the fact that some of the bishops of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, who came to Moscow to attend the Bishops' Council, proved to be bearers of such "autocephalous" theology. Emphatically claiming that the mistakes of Metropolitan Filaret of Kiev and All the Ukraine in the administration of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church are her internal affair, and demanding from the Council only one thing—an immediate autocephaly, they, nevertheless, provoked a discussion which demonstrated that the situation in the Ukrainian Orthodox Church cannot be considered

in isolation from the destinies of Ecumenical Orthodoxy.

During the discussion only six out of the 21 Ukrainian bishops who attended the Council (all in all there were 97 hierarchs at the Council) came out in favour of autocephaly, but they, too, eventually agreed with the negative wordings of the final documents, which were published in the previous issue of *The Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate*. The champions of an immediate autocephaly tried to prove that separation from the Moscow Patriarchate would strengthen Orthodoxy in the face of the continuing Catholic expansion. But let us stop and think: what will become of the Ukrainian diaspora in Siberia, in the Baltic region, in America? Would the Ukrainian pastors and the flock residing there also like to separate? In those regions, where the Orthodox are in the minority, this can have truly catastrophic consequences.

Not a single bishop, who performs his ministry in various states, both on the territory of the erstwhile Soviet Union and in other regions of the world, spoke out in support of autocephaly of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. The reason is: this step will result in the growth of separatist moods among religious

Ukrainians and in yet another spiral of extrapolation of political logic into the ecclesiastical sphere. Where the Orthodox are in the minority, not only a schism, but even the growth of differences among them can lead to irreversible consequences and, in the final analysis, to impeding the Orthodox witness in the world.

Prior to the Council, His Holiness the Patriarch received thousands of telegrams and letters, containing signatures of people against autocephaly. Nearly a hundred picket-men, opponents of autocephaly who came from the Ukraine, stayed near the Danilovskaya Hotel, while the Bishops' Council was in session there. Worshipers in the most numerous eastern- and central-Ukrainian dioceses are unambiguously against autocephaly, which they associate (and not without good reason) with Latinization. Many of those who took the floor pointed out that if the Ukrainian Orthodox Church gained autocephaly she would definitely become weakened in the face of non-Orthodoxy: both Theological Academies of the Russian Orthodox Church are located on the territory of Russia and attended by very many students who came from the Ukraine. The only factory manufacturing church plate and utensils is also situated not in the Ukraine, but in Russia, just outside Moscow, etc., to say nothing of purely spiritual aspects of a possible isolation.

The main argument put forward by Metropolitan Filaret and other apologists of an immediate separation from the Moscow Patriarchate is the hope to return to the bosom of the canonical Church those hundreds of parishes in Galicia which joined the Uniates or formed part of the unlawful "Mstislav" autocephaly. True, our Church has very few parishes left in Galicia now: nearly three dozen in the Lvov and Ivano-Frankovsk dioceses, taken together, and some 160 parishes in the Ternopol Diocese. But they are headed by the pastors and consist of the parishioners who, for several years already, have been repulsing the attacks (often in the direct sense of the word) of Rukh men, Uniates, autocephalists and even OMON (Detachment of Special Duty Militia.—*Ed.*). As one Ternopol priest aptly said, they have already completed "a primary fighter's courses", and those who have stayed here will not go over anywhere. And now they are actually being told to voluntarily depart from their stance and join self-styled churchmen and schismatics. Therefore, Bishop Sergy of Ternopol and Kremenets was quite right when he said at the Council that in Galicia Orthodoxy can be upheld not by political compromises—the Church can be "saved" not by human means, but by a selfless pastoral service, prayer and a pious life. Moreover, a considerable part of the schismatics had no motives for schism other than the personality of Metropolitan Filaret. It goes without saying that the Orthodox would hardly be willing to unite under his supremacy.

Having heard what the Ukrainian hierarchs had to say and discussed the situation that arose in the Ukraine (the discussion, during which 62 hierarchs took the

floor, lasted for 15 hours in all) the archpastors came to the conclusion: there is no unanimity on the question of autocephaly among Ukrainian worshippers now, and its granting will not lead to reconciliation but, on the contrary, result in a new schism. Therefore, recognizing the legitimate and natural character of the process of formation of new autocephalous Churches, the Council postponed the final solution of the problem until the Local Council of the Russian Orthodox Church. It is to take place not later than 1995 and, unlike the Bishops' Council, is also to be attended by representatives of the clergy and laity, because it is impossible to decide their destiny without taking their opinion into consideration.

The Church has not followed in the tracks of secular politicians and has not divided. But there is more to it than simply the fact that the request for autocephaly has not been complied with: we can cite numerous instances from the secular political sphere when the "centre" refused to give some required degree of freedom, but very soon this led to a still greater crisis and seizure of what was wanted by force. The thing is that in the course of the discussion, which exceeded all time-limits (the sessions lasted for five days, instead of the planned four, and twice evening sittings closed in the small hours) the Council unanimously acknowledged that no ecclesiastical issues can be settled according to secular political models. Complete disregard for politics and, if we may say so, supracstate approach, became the framework within which the place of the Orthodox Church in the changing post-totalitarian world was conceptualized.

Returning now to the Church after seventy years of atheistic captivity hardly anyone of us would like to engage in Christian politics or some other public activity with a clerical slant in the church of God. No: we hope for salvation of the soul, we want to learn that which the world cannot give us. What will happen if, entering God's church, we shall meet political stereotypes there, too?

Alas, the Soviet mentality with its developed habit to give all-out support to the state, which follows the only right course, has survived even in some clergymen. We wonder: how sharply Metropolitan Filaret, the Head of the Ukrainian Church, has changed his mind—only a year ago he spoke of the Soviet Ukraine whose Church will always be with the Russian Church, and now he has become the most ardent champion of complete separation—autocephaly! However, it is the authority that has changed the stance. As to Vladyka Filaret, in the past he assiduously followed its directives, doing away with the Uniates as a class, and now he seeks to provide a matching Church for the "sovereign and independent" Ukrainian power. Small wonder that the address of President Leonid Kravchuk of the Ukraine, read out by the Patriarch and containing the request for autocephaly, was qualified by many speakers at the Council as interference of the state in the affairs of the Church.

During the years of the atheistic regime she has

suffered too much from all sorts of "authorized agents" to sail, now already of her own accord, in the wake of politicians and to be in somebody's service. Only now, when the USSR has divided into several states, has the Orthodox Church appreciated as the greatest blessing the existence of a Patriarch who is unsusceptible of influences of local political factors. Let us assume that President of the Ukraine really cares for Orthodoxy today (incidentally, the words said by Bishop Varfolomei of Volhynia and Lutsk, to the effect that Leonid Kravchuk's letter reflects not an attempt to interfere in the affairs of the Church but rather a "genuine pain for her", provoked laughter in the audience). But what will become of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church if the next "independent" president turns out to be, say, a Uniate? Won't the Patriarch, who enjoys the right of certain extraterritoriality and who is above the interests of this or that ruler, give a more reliable protection to the faith? In a word, the question is formulated like this: either we have the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, with the Patriarch as her authoritative head, bearing his title for more than four centuries already, or each appanage President acquires his own Church which would provide ideological grounds for various geopolitical and economic adventures.

In fact, already within the framework of the discussion on the Ukraine the Council went over to the consideration of the third item of the agenda—controversial problems in relationships between the Church and society: the Ukrainian issue was considered against a broad background of inter-ethnic, political and intra-church problems not only of the Ukraine, not only of the other countries of the former Soviet Union, but also of various Local Orthodox Churches. When the Council went over to purely ecclesio-social problems, it began to discuss, in the first place, the tasks of the Church in connection with the spread of new occult teachings. Hierarchs dwelt, for instance, on the "Theotokos Centre" pursuing the policy of active self-advertising; they spoke of allowing a Christian burial to suicides, of the Church's material problems during the economic crisis, of the economic and publishing activity of the Moscow Patriarchate. But the most heated sessions were those which discussed relationships between the Church and the mass media and accusations made by it of a number of hierarchs maintaining ties with the KGB.

The results of the discussion were formulated in the Appeal of the Bishops' Council as follows: "To pass a just canonical judgement in this regard, the Plenitude of the Church needs to know the truth about the secret interference of the state into the affairs of the Church and about the behaviour of the clergy and lay believers when confronted by this abstruse persecution against the Church of Christ. So far, the people of the Church and public circles, discussing church related problems, receive desultory tendentiously selected materials on the basis

of which the Church, with her responsibility before God for the fate of every human being, can neither admit nor reject accusations brought up against concrete persons. To carry out an objective investigation into the facts of damage being done to the Church or concrete individuals on the basis of officially certified documents, the Council has set up a church commission which shall be accountable to the Bishops' Council."

In the course of the discussion it was emphasized that the newly-formed commission should draw only on documents and not on newspaper publications, that it should not act as a public advocate or prosecutor, but should determine culpability or non-culpability of a person before the Church, for which purpose the following two clear-cut criteria were suggested: harm done to the Church or to one's neighbour. It was pointed out that the oft-recurring expression "collaboration with the KGB" is not correct, as collaboration implies community of aims and purposes, of which there were none. Therefore it would be more correct to speak of contacts with representatives of state bodies, including the KGB. But the fact of contact is not compromising in itself—what really matters here is its nature: it could do both harm and good to the Church. A number of speakers emphasized the tremendous moral responsibility of the Church for the flock entrusted to her. The Patriarch himself pointed out in his statement: "Speaking about attacks against our Holy Church and her servers, we must be self-critical, fully realizing whether or not our service is sacrificial enough, how sacredly and honestly we perform our duty to God, His Holy Church and our own conscience... What example do we set to the flock by our lives?..."

And now it is just in place to return to the Ukrainian issue. Participants in the discussion levelled criticism, which was very caustic at times, against the Primate of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, Metropolitan Filaret. Unfortunately, his very name became the bone of contention, irrespective of the justness of concrete accusations. To heal church schisms, of which there are several already in the Ukraine, our troubled times call for an archpastor who would give no grounds for censure to anyone. The Council had full ecclesio-canonical powers to relieve Metropolitan Filaret from the post of the Primate of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, but this would give cause for secular politicians to speak of Moscow's interference in the affairs of the "sovereign" Ukraine and her Church. For this reason, many speakers, including hierarchs of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, members of the Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church and the Patriarch himself, asked Metropolitan Filaret, for the sake of church peace, to leave his post of his own accord. In the afternoon, April 2, he expressed his consent and gave a promise to the Council that upon his return to Kiev he would immediately submit an application about his resignation, and the Kiev Synod would appoint the date for the opening of a Ukrainian Bishops' Council to elect a new Primate.

The uniqueness of this situation consists in the fact that for the first time such important and delicate issue was resolved not at a Council and not by the Synod or the Patriarch alone. Seeing the conciliar expression of will, Metropolitan Filaret came to a free decision to resign. If this promise had been kept, we dare to suppose that the administrative-psychological climate, which we have somewhat forgotten about during the years of the Bolshevik pressing, would have become more firmly established in the Church, perhaps the climate that was characteristic of the Early Church which settled all issues freely, conciliarly, openly, keeping the unity of Spirit and in the bond of peace. But too great is the temptation in the "independent" Ukraine to pay no heed to the authority of the Patriarch and the Plenitude of the Church herself and to decide everything, proceeding from earthly interests. Will Metropolitan Filaret find enough strength to hold out under the pressure of the authorities who want to gain a "free Church for a free power" at any cost? To lighten the burden of the incredible pressure which was bound to fall upon Vladyka Filaret as soon as he crossed the Ukrainian border, Metropolitan Kirill of Smolensk and Kaliningrad suggested that the Synod of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church should hold a session to accept Vladyka Filaret's resignation already in Moscow. This proposal was turned down by the majority of the hierarchs taking part in the work of the Council. Perhaps, not to give grounds for allegations about the "hand of Moscow".

Three days later, during a sermon delivered in Kiev's Cathedral Church of St. Vladimir on the Feast of the Annunciation, Viadyka Filaret declared that in Moscow he had been literally "crucified", but he retained the post of the Primate nevertheless. Thus, the promise given to the Church was broken... At a press conference held on April 14, Metropolitan Filaret reaffirmed his repudiation of the given promise, declaring that in Moscow he intentionally had given a false promise to resign, solely "for the sake of church peace", but here, in Kiev, that same church peace required a directly opposite solution, which he adopted there and then.

The results of such Marxist-like dialectical understanding of the Church's weal were quick to follow: quite a number of parishes, cloisters and even dioceses (the Odessa-Izmail, for instance) broke off the prayerfully-canonical contact with Metropolitan Filaret and the hierarchs who supported his perjury. For instance, Archbishop Lazar of Odessa and Izmail was driven away from the cathedral church and diocesan residence by the clerics, monastic community and parishioners of his diocese and students of the Odessa Theological Seminary. During divine services priests began to mention in prayer only the name of His Holiness Patriarch Aleksy II. It is noteworthy, that for all that, Vladyka Lazar turned for help to the Patriarch of Moscow and, officiating at a divine service together with other hierarchs, held in Moscow's Epiphany Cathedral on Great Thursday, intoned: "Our

great Master and father, His Holiness Patriarch Aleksy of Moscow and All Russia...."

Let us now return to the first day of the work of the Council: it was devoted to the canonization of new saints—Metropolitan Veniamin Kazansky of Petrograd and Gdov and those who suffered together with him (shot down by the Bolsheviks in 1922); Grand Princess Yelizaveta Fyodorovna (the founder of the Sts. Martha and Mary Convent) and nun Varvara, who was murdered together with her; Schemamonk Kirill and Schemanun Maria, the parents of St. Sergy of Radonezh. Symptomatically, one more newly-canonized martyr—Metropolitan Vladimir Bogoyavlensky of Kiev and Galicia, murdered in 1918, was a confirmed champion of the unity of the Ukrainian Church with the Moscow Patriarchate at the time when, as a result of new political trends and also efforts of Archbishop Aleksy Dorodnitsyn, a close friend of Rasputin's, the so-called Ukrainian Autocephalous Church was proclaimed for the first time. It can be said that the first Ukrainian autocephalists also passively contributed to the martyrdom of Metropolitan Vladimir, who was then left completely alone.

The Lord honoured Metropolitan Vladimir with a martyr's wreath: on April 4, he and other newly-canonized zealots of faith were solemnly glorified in the Dormition Cathedral of the Moscow Kremlin. Among those who took part in the divine service were Metropolitan Filaret of Kiev and other advocates of Ukrainian autocephaly, which was so strongly opposed by the holy hierarch-martyr. To all probability, hurrying to provide the young "independent" Ukrainian power with just as "independent" Church, some hierarchs hope to go down in history, if not to put the patriarchal koukolion on. But one can hardly expect to gain wreaths of sanctity for splitting the Church.

At the Bishops' Council the split in its "purest" form could occur any minute: on April 2, at a quarter to two a. m. when several participants in the Council came up with their proposal, within the framework of the discussion, to temporarily suspend independence and self-government of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, Metropolitan Filaret collected his papers and with the words: "There is nothing for me to do at such Council" rose and went towards the exit. Only two Ukrainian bishops stood up after him... It is difficult to say what stopped the Ukrainian hierarchs who were about to leave the conference hall: the voice of conscience or the resolute voice of Metropolitan Kirill of Smolensk and Kaliningrad (he said: "Before someone else stands up I want all of you to realize what is really taking place here: the split of the Church, a terrible schism with all ensuing consequences for the souls and personal salvation of everyone who will leave the Council"), but all the three hierarchs, who stood up, followed the advice to return to their seats and continue the discussion. Schism was avoided.

This episode gives an idea of the tense atmosphere

in which the work of the Council proceeded on its second day. This atmosphere was absolutely free, perhaps for the first time after the 1917 Council, during which discussions were held at such level. There was no outside pressure already at the 1988 and 1990 Councils. But, as it has turned out, it takes time to get rid of the obtrusive desire to check all appraisals against political clocks. That is why it is so gratifying to note that conciliar discussions have finally become internally free, their theological and intellectual level rose precisely at a time when they got to realize that a secular state and its policy is one thing, and the Church is quite another, that not a single church problem can be solved, according to secular models of this age; moreover, it is inadmissible to allow them to influence the process of elaboration of decisions.

After this understanding had been demonstrated by Vladyka Filaret too, the remaining three days of the work of the Bishops' Council passed in an atmosphere of spiritual joy: the Council's fathers, who shortly before that had been engrossed in heated argument, now unanimously discussed pastoral aspects of their ministry with Metropolitan Filaret taking an active part in this discussion without the slightest trace of tension....

This, perhaps, constituted the Council's great moral lesson: only in a free expression of will can the breath of Divine Providence manifest itself, which, as the Church believes, is also expressed in decisions of her Councils.

At the very start of the sessions, when several Ukrainian hierarchs attempted to block a free exchange of opinions on the question of autocephaly, Patriarch Aleksy explained his principled position: "Every archpastor has the right to voice his opinion, no matter what it may be. Therefore we cannot transfer the meeting practice of shouting down to the Bishops' Council."

And, perhaps, the way in which Patriarch Aleksy conducted the Council (he chaired all its sessions) expressed the idea of the Patriarchate with theological balance: on the one hand—equality with all archpastors, most of whom took the floor at the Council much more often than the Primate and submitted all the proposals discussed by the Council themselves, and, on the other—the primacy expressed in a wise guidance of the process of discussion at its sharp moments.

The thing the Council's participants were most strongly impressed with was the manifestation of God's will, which suddenly became very obvious, in the course of its work and in its decisions: imagine who could suppose **what** had been decided and **how** only a few days before? This made the impression produced by the refusal of Metropolitan Filaret of Kiev and All the Ukraine to follow the spirit and letter of the Council still more regrettable. To all probability, so far earthly, purely human, considerations gained the upper hand in Kiev. And this motivated the decisions adopted by the enlarged session of the Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church of May 7, 1992 (published in this issue).

In this connection I recall how on April 5 all the participants in the Bishops' Council celebrated Divine Liturgy in the Monastery of the Don Icon of the Mother of God and translated the recently-invented relics of Patriarch Tikhon of All Russia to the grand monastery cathedral. It is not for nothing that during the Council's sessions His Holiness Patriarch Aleksy II of Moscow and All Russia often recalled St. Tikhon's words: "Let my name perish in history, if only the Church could benefit from this." God forbid any of our archpastors to disregard this if only once and follow the example not of St. Tikhon but of his persecutors.

Yevgeny KOMAROV

The Feast of St. Sergy

Five and a half centuries have passed since the blessed demise of St. Sergy. The changes that have occurred in everything are great, and great is the historical distance that separates us. However, he still remains not only our spiritual leader and heavenly intercessor but also a friend who measured the depths of our sorrow and through it became our kin. For he lived at a time in a way no less crucial than ours. Today the Russian Land is captured by the enemies of the faith of Christ, but was not she then too groaning under the Tatar yoke, forced to renounce the faith and worship fire and pagan idols of the Horde?

Spiritual wounds alienate us from each other in foreign lands, we are degenerating in fratricide, but what was Rus of his days like, under the burden of captivity and torn by discord? We have gone through and are suffering now the disasters of war in our Homeland and outside it with all their violence, but did he not witness wars and was he not the spiritual leader of the fight for the liberation of the Motherland, the spiritual ally, so to say, of the Kulikovo Battle? Today, broken down by division, we strive to gather under his banner to preserve our spiritual entity, but was not the saint gathering a small flock around himself in the cloister which was destined to become the core of Russian rebirth? Now we live in ignorance of the day to come, a dark curtain hiding it from our view, but did not his cloister live in need and privations being not once on the brink of complete poverty? We are broken down sometimes by mutual detraction and discord, but was not he forced to leave his own cloister detracted by the brethren? We are dragging out a sorrowful existence of exiles, but was it not his lot at one time when he fled from the Tatar invasion? We believe our grievances to be unprecedented but it is the distance that prevents us from seeing clearly, for if we examine closely the details of the saint's life we will see how great was the measure of suffering overflowing his heart.

And though there were no outer weapons of annihilation at the time, the passions were as annihilating, and the Kulikovo Battle was as fierce as the fights we are witnessing. Later times are marked by greater maturity in good and evil, the past seems childish and naive today. Every historical epoch has its own scale, and in the time of St. Sergy heights were scaled too. On his path of trial the saint gained the wreath of truth and became a leader and healer of Russia. His spiritual power found expression in the life of the Church and the state, in the sphere of creative activity of the people.

What is the essence of the saint's feat? In what exactly and how can we imitate him now when conditions of life have changed so radically?

Outwardly he was bound with the peculiar circumstances of his time, but inwardly he retains the major significance he had in his lifetime, for human spirit turned to God is not dependent on the time in which it performs its acts and we have to follow the spiritual path of the saint and be inspired by his inspiration. We will not find majestic gifts in his humble image, gifts to be honoured with human grandeur. He edifies us with Evangelic majesty of which it is said: *whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister; and whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant* (Mt. 20. 26-27); *Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart* (Mt. 11. 29). Such majesty is not a natural gift: it is attained through the feat of faith and prayer, the fulfilment of the Lord's commandments of the love of God and one's neighbour.

The *Life* of the saint tells of miracles and signs and of revelations, of ministering with the angels, of the appearance of the Most Pure One, of Communion from the Cup of Divine Fire. But the greatest and most striking of miracles is his own feat of boundless self-humiliation and humbleness in shouldering the burden of his brethren, his ceaseless self-abnegation.

So we ask ourselves: can we aspire to imitate him, to measure ourselves with the same scale? Will we be adified by the majesty inaccessible for us and frightening? However, the path of Christian living is common for all and watching the one following it we should strive to enter upon it too according to Apostle St. Paul: *Brethren, I count not myself to have apprehended: but this one thing I do, forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things which are before, I press toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of*

God in Christ Jesus (Phil. 3. 13-14). And further he adds: *...be followers together of me, and mark them which walk so as ye have us for an ensample* (v. 17). The saint too, by offering an example, calls us to be followers of him. And it is in the midst of despair and hopelessness of our life that we must perform the feat of prayer and faith. We remember better times preceding today's trouble, but how are we to overcome disaster, to conquer our despondency? We know and preach that human destinies are built through Divine Providence that they are the acts of the Lord. We have to transform the abstract knowledge into living reality, to actually see the hand of God. It is this feat of faith that the saint teaches us for his life is an unbroken chain of the victories of faith over numerous challenges. What would have happened to our Motherland if Dimitry Donskoi had not found in him the encouragement he needed for his martial feat, or if the saint himself had not stood out against the inner and outer shocks in the life of his cloister which was destined to become a real nursery of the Russian spirit? Is it not the same trial of faith that has now fallen to the lot of his children at home and in exile, humiliated and distressed, driven along like chips from one bank to the other, deprived of home and shelter, in the face of the horror of the unfathomable destinies of theirs and those of the entire world? We must stand out spiritually, preserving in our hearts what has been given and entrusted to us. We are expected to make the last desperate effort of faith, but it is faith that promises us the help of the Lord. And the image of the saint shines before us on this way of the cross our faith has to traverse.

We live under the banner of the saint as his small flock. And our cloister has one and the same spiritual task: to preserve our trust in Divine Providence, to preserve faith and hope. Many a time the mercy of God has saved us miraculously but the paths of our future are not to be fathomed. While we are not deprived of this mercy, we are called upon to follow our path, live in our cloister according to God, that is, in prayer which is the wings of heaven, and in the knowledge of God and His mysteries imprinted in theology.

May not the thunder and roaring of heaven and hell drown this celestial voice, and may we not be bereaved of the silence of prayer and inspiration of God's wisdom. May we follow our path according to the Apostle: *I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith* (Tim. 4.7).

May St. Sergy bless our labours in the forthcoming acceptable year of the Lord.

Archpriest SERGY BULGAKOV

September 25, 1940

Metropolitan Nikolai of Krutitsy and Kolomna as a Preacher

Metropolitan Nikolai Yarushevich of Krutitsy and Kolomna, past master of oratory, always inspired even and fascinating, was undoubtedly one of the most brilliant preachers of the word of God in the mid-20th century.

Among the Russian orators of the 19th century we could name only a few of a somewhat similar trend. These were Metropolitan Innokenty Veniaminov of Moscow, Archbishop Nikanor Brovkovich of Odessa, Archbishop Dimitry Moretov of Kherson, Archpriest Rodion Putyatin. However, for all the brilliance, inspiration, splendour and warmth of feeling, even the sermons of famous Archbishop Innokenty Borisov of Kherson not always create the impression comparable to that produced by Metropolitan Nikolai's orations. The reason is to be explained by the fact that in his sermons and homilies, apart from an apostolic ardour of spirit, Archbishop Innokenty also gives way to oratorical, purely human, inspiration. His speech often flowed not from a prayerful concentration, but also contained an admixture of earthly feelings of a church orator-artist....

In contrast, Metropolitan Nikolai's art of preaching harmonically combined, as two mutually penetrating elements, a biblical thought and a pastoral-paternal feeling and love of his flock. His sermons and homilies resemble speeches of missionaries whose activity was solely aimed at reviving new spiritual children for Heaven. In a positive form, i. e. without exposing or censuring worshippers, he pictures before them the only value and beauty of an ideal Christian mood. In his sermons it is not man's life that illumines the ideology of the Holy Scripture but, on the contrary life itself is shown in the light of a biblical appraisal.

An analysis of his art of preaching is extremely valuable for Russian Orthodox pastors, because it gives them a vivid idea of the desirable nature of present-day church preaching and outlines clear-cut ways of structuring and arranging church sermons in keeping with the requirements of the worshippers' current life.

Metropolitan Nikolai's homiletic works do not contain even the slightest hint of scholastics, but provide an exemplary choice, above all, of the topics of church speeches. They are elaborated on a biblical basis with inimitable sincerity and phraseological perfection. Metropolitan Nikolai skilfully adapts his vast spiritual experience to the mentality of his listeners. For all the delicate distinctness of his religious consciousness, he always expounds his thoughts in a simple and refined manner, which really makes his sermons a sacrament of the word of God and a powerful preaching of good tidings. He involuntarily flames up his listeners with lofty feelings and aspirations and in some way encourages them to improve.



Metropolitan Nikolai Yarushevich of Krutitsy and Kolomna

No preacher can be really understood unless his preaching is linked with the life of contemporary society and events of his time, and Metropolitan Nikolai's art of preaching, too, as it is reflected in the *Collection* for 1941-1946, should be seen against the background of historical events of those five years.

As is known, a war broke out at that time between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union, which aroused our entire people for the defence of their native land. At that time His Holiness Patriarch Sergy firmly directed believers along the road of loyalty to the holy dogmas and canons of Orthodoxy and love of their Homeland.

On the very first day of the war the Patriarch addressed a message to all Orthodox Russian people, blessing them for a sacred struggle against the

Nazis till the final victory. From that moment the Russian Church completely devoted herself to the service of the Motherland. Churches called upon worshippers to zealously perform their patriotic feat, without sparing not only their strength but even life itself for the sake of saving the native land; they raised funds for the country's defence, and parishioners offered up fervent prayers to the Throne of God, beseeching the Lord to grant success to the Russian arms. After the complete defeat of the Nazi forces, the Soviet Union finally returned to the peaceful life. The time set before Russian pastors the task to organize all-out assistance to orphaned families of valorous defenders of the Homeland and join forces in continuing the work of religious-moral education of the people.

In his homilies, Metropolitan Nikolai explains above all the ideal purpose of man's life. Encouraging people afflicted by the war and its hardships, he calls upon them to seek spiritual consolation in a grace-filled union with God, the Theotokos and saints, to live with an ardent faith in Divine Providence, assembling for a joint prayer in churches. Such admonitions are scattered, like stars in the sky, in many of Metropolitan Nikolai's homilies. In the *Collection* he usually supplies every homily with a laconic heading, consisting of one or two words, clearly conveying the dogmatic or moral-ascetic idea contained in it. For example: "Grace", "The Church", "Encounters with Christ", "Love", "The Law of Love", "Wisdom and Love", "Peace", "Joy", etc.

These themes remind us of the captions to reflections of St. Tikhon of Zadonsk in his well-known work: *A Spiritual Treasure Collected from the World*. In a way we can draw a parallel between Metropolitan Nikolai's *Collection* and the work of St. Tikhon. Both these books, each in its own way, study and analyze natural phenomena and human life in the light of their moral significance for a believer. But in the speeches of Metropolitan Nikolai we often find hagiographic and ecclesio-historical material, and his thoughts develop within the frame of worshippers' purely contemporary requirements, which is not to be seen in the reflections of St. Tikhon of a more general nature. Also quite original is Metropolitan Nikolai's treatment of questions of faith and morals.

In choosing themes for his sermons and homilies, he proceeds from various circumstances of ecclesio-public life and is sometimes influenced by personal positive impressions. There were cases when visits to Moscow cemeteries and the reading of excerpts from biblical texts inscribed on monuments struck his soul by a grace-filled reflection of some spirit-bearing apophthegm. One such impression developed into a homily based on the text of Psalm 42: *As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God. My soul thirsteth for God, for the living God* (Ps. 42. 1-2). Sometimes Metropolitan Nikolai is induced to deliver impromptu sermons at the sight of people streaming for a prayer to the church or when he contemplates the blossoming or

fading of nature and in connection with the feasts devoted to the Lord and the Mother of God. Commemoration of saints and outstanding events of church and civic life also serve as a cause for his homilies about the role of the church, the spiritual meaning of the "Autumn", a Christian's spiritual world. He also has sermons devoted to the translation of the relics of Vilna martyrs from Moscow to Vilna, declaration of war, conclusion of peace.

Every oration, every sermon and speech delivered by Metropolitan Nikolai are totally devoid of artificial rhetorical embellishments. There are no far-fetched phraseological effects or oratorical antitheses in them. His elegantly constructed and modelled thoughts are interwoven with fundamental biblical quotations adorned by penetrating and moving excerpts from Chrysostom, St. Dimitry of Rostov, or from secular poets and writers. Quite often they are illustrated by impressive facts from the lives of ecumenical and Russian saints. Thus, the unity of the believing soul with God he explains through comparisons from nature and from parents' attitude to their children. The star-studded sky, the warm sun with its golden rays caressing the earth, plants, succulent fields ready for harvesting, the sea, birds of the air in their nests, every living thing reaching for the sun—always provide him with abundant material for depicting God's love of man, the value of life in God and the meaning and significance of penitence, charity, purity and struggle against evil.

The church, its divine services and Sacraments are the dearest and most favourite sphere of Metropolitan Nikolai's reflections. In his homilies he often speaks about the eternal life on earth and in the other world, immortality of the soul, cultivation of habits of love, charity, prayer, kindness and humility on earth in order to accept the highest forms of life eternal after death. His speculativeness coming from the depth of his heart strikes a responsive chord in the soul, inviting his listeners to the ideal world. Pretty often he resorts to personal vivid impressions of his trips to the Holy Land or countries of the Orthodox East to illustrate his theological ideas.

Disclosing the content of every theme he remains true to the law of the unity of the thought being developed. Two of his homilies, "Children and Brothers" and "The Wreath", can serve as examples of such method of preaching.

In the former he explains the Christian meaning of the civil slogan "equality and fraternity". In the Church, before God, he reasons, there is a true brotherhood of worshippers on the basis of an equal divine adoption in Christ and the equality of sexes in feats of faith and in labours for the good of the Church. In general, people are equal in the possibility to inherit eternal bliss. Through the grace-filled unity in the Church, the rich and the poor, learned and ordinary people become brothers in Christ in the full sense of the word, and also children of one great God's family, of one God, the Father of Heaven. And they are also equal participants in heavenly glory.

In the church, the symbol of such brotherhood, unity is created by *one Lord, one faith, one baptism* (Eph. 4.5). Sins and vices are not characteristic of the children of the Heavenly Father. Worshipers are exhorted not to sin, to cherish their name of the sons of God, and to remain loyal and obedient to God till their very death. In his homily called "The Wreath", a masterpiece of the art of preaching, he makes a gorgeous wreath, above all, from the flowers of his own reverential, tender feelings towards the Mother of God as a model for bringing a similar gift by worshippers to the feet of the Mother of God. At the beginning of his homily the metropolitan likens Christians' feelings towards the Heavenly Protectress to the love of children for their earthly mother. Everywhere the Mother of God spreads Her wondrous veil over worshippers, just as She did a long time ago in the Vlahernae Church of Constantinople and later in the cell of St. Sergy of Radonezh. That is why there are no church or home in Russia which does not have a particularly venerated icon of the Mother of God. We do not conceive our life without Her guidance. With Her icon mothers bless their children for marriage and travels and entrust them to Her before their death.

A wreath of our feelings, pleasing to the Mother of God, is woven from love, contrition and hope for alleviation of our sorrows by prayers of the Mother of God. Pastoral benevolence erupts in a heart-felt call from his soul: "I implore you as if on behalf of the Mother of God: live by faith, fortify yourselves by hope, burn with love and charity, subdue yourselves through penitence. And the Heavenly Mother will be our Guide to heaven."

All Metropolitan Nikolai's homilies conclude and begin absolutely naturally. Some, for instance, conclude with good wishes: "May the Lord honour us with the eternal joy to live with Him in one family in His Heavenly mansions where there will be no autumn, no winter, no sickness, no sighs, but there will be life eternal"; "Let us cherish the light of our faith in the Lord in order to live with it and to depart with it to where inexhaustible joys are awaiting the sons of light"; "May the light of Christ abide in you, peace be unto you, and let us never forget that God's yoke is a blessing, and His burden is light".

All these and similar calls and appeals culminate not only church improvisations of Metropolitan Nikolai but are also typical of him in his conversations with worshippers. It has long since been known that from his tender and loving soul nobody has ever gone away *empty and unconsolated*.

Going over to more general characteristic features of our hierarch's preaching, we must say that he also often displays penchant for an abstract-generalizing theological thinking in connection with a Christian conceptualization of individual facts and phenomena. But more often than not he is a moralist-preacher, and that is why he calls his preaching works "homilies". His impromptu sermons and speeches are anything but "discourses", "studies" or "reflec-

tions", as collections of sermons by hierarchs of the past were usually called. On the contrary, his task as a preacher, as he sees it, is to enlighten and promote Christian mood of believers, to cheer them up in sorrows and to rejoice together with them as a father when they rejoice.

Metropolitan Nikolai's preaching is completely based on the Holy Scripture and the dogmata of the Church. Usually, on public holidays and festivities he sheds the light of Christianity on some philosophical notions and ideas of the time, connecting them with the moral principles of the church faith and life.

But direct polemical tasks never become the object of his attention. For the most part, he interprets the positive biblical teaching on life in God. And he is interested not in dry and theoretical speculation but only in what is really vital and life-like. Using sacred quotations, Metropolitan Nikolai often emphasizes the indisputable and moving fact of God's indescribable love of man. Because of this, preaching from the ambo, he acts as a living witness of the truth that every man in the Church can rely on a mighty, all-conquering help of a grace-endowed force building happiness for every believing soul. As a rule, Metropolitan Nikolai develops the main textual thought of his sermon with the help of extensive biblical material, supporting his chief idea also artistically. For this reason, his *Homilies* can legitimately be qualified as the "artistic homilies".

The greatest virtue of Metropolitan Nikolai as a preacher is an organic accord of biblical thought with its profoundly national Russian expression. His speech is anything but imitation of the rational character of the speeches of former Russian preachers. Thanks to this, in explaining the truth of faith he came closer to the level of comprehension of the contemporary Russian flock. As a rule, he does not cover principles of national morality with sacred texts and never breaks the consonance of the form and content of his homilies with principles of biblical dicta. His particular thoughts logically flow from the main idea of a homily because of the promptings of his purely apostolic zeal to save human souls, rather than because of theoretical interest alone. Therefore in his *Collection* we shall not find an analysis of a biblical text in Filaret's spirit or subtle exegetical clarifications of a God-inspired thought, or the will that is dull for goodness, but shall definitely find a quieting of heart and enlightenment of mind by a clear reminder of Christ's truth. With a key of deep seriousness he easily opens for his listeners the door to the grace-filled world of the knowledge of God and teaches them to clothe the feeling of Divine truths in a marvelously expressed thought. In fact, Metropolitan Nikolai's homilies illumine with the light of the Holy Scripture only general principles of Christian life, namely, the moment of its birth and ultimate flowering. However, some living details of a medium-level spiritual experience of a modern Christian are also within his field of vision.

There is one more specific feature of Metropolitan

Nikolai's preaching. He translates direct impressions of spiritual life from ideas to his own stable experiences of the soul and therefore speaks about them not only as a theologian but also as a religious poet. His archpastoral preaching in the Church is filled with sublime poetry, which, however, does not shun the depth of man's everyday experiences. By his world view he involuntarily transports worshippers' consciousness to the blissful eternity set in in the Church already in conditions of the real earthly existence.

Exalted religious lyricism is the predominant feature of his preaching. His hymnological descriptions of nature in its gorgeous attire and the pictures of the closeness of the Saviour, the Mother of God and saints to worshippers are magnificent, indeed.

We make bold to surmise that Metropolitan Nikolai's speeches about the Saviour and the Mother of God contain an echo of grace-filled experiences of his own childhood or youth. He wants to gladden everyone by the spiritual wealth of his sacred emotions and experiences, to dispell by them the dismal mood of some and to warm by tender, caressing rays of his affectionate heart those who became cool spiritually.

How much warmth there is, for instance, in such words: "When we see vast expanses of blossoming meadows, fields turning green, enter a thick forest rustling with the tops of its trees, admire the sight of a boundless blue sea, snow-capped mountains, the dark sky studded with bright stars—our soul meets with Christ in the feeling of enjoyment of the beauty of nature." In another homily he says: "Earthly life is almost always attended by tears and woven in griefs and sorrows, therefore Christ came to the earth to put His warm fatherly hand on the heart weeping for sins and to say His Divine Word to man: 'I forgive your sins. Weep not, man, for the lost Paradise!' I have come to return it, to open its doors, to call ye to Myself to My eternal mansions and to satiate your soul with the bread and live water from which ye will not be hungry and thirsty for ever."

Metropolitan Nikolai's warm, fatherly attitude also manifests itself when, addressing the congregation, he exclaims: "My dear! In front of me I see a church filled to overflowing. You have come here in the name of the Love of Christ and these holy martyrs... I see the attention and silence with which you are listening to me now. May the love of the word of God never diminish in your souls."

Such personal form of address in a church makes it more vivid and particularly pleasant to the ear as an expression of a preacher's sincere care for the souls of the flock. Irrespective of the theme of his sermon, simple in the beginning, Metropolitan Nikolai's thought gradually and imperceptibly takes the form of an artistic verbal expression as he becomes more and more deeply engrossed in the topic of his homily. And there comes forth from his mouth a stream of such colourful words as these, for instance: "Joy is an adornment of man's life. It is often like a sun ray, which suddenly pierces a clouded sky and, reaching

the earth, brings more life. We, all of us, are striving after joys, are seeking them. Wishing everything brightest and best in life to each other, we thereby wish more joys to those we love."

The way man succumbs to sin is also vividly pictured by Metropolitan Nikolai. He says: "Sins, like snakes, creep into man's heart one by one... We do not notice that we are floating on the waves of sin, which are carrying us to eternal death."... "At first our soul is covered by a net, as it were. Then sin begins to stick to the immortal soul in solid layers of filth." "From bricks of individual sins and passions a tall wall rises rapidly, dividing man's soul from God. Sin dries the heart, takes the gift of prayer, tenderness and veneration away; it takes away everything that constitutes man's spiritual wealth and that a believing man accumulates in himself over many years. It deprives man of the peace of conscience and the brotherly peace with regard to his near and dear ones."

Russian traditional pilgrimage is also picturesquely depicted by Metropolitan Nikolai... The ordinary Russian man, he writes, set off on long journeys to holy places in order to feel God quite close to himself.

In all samples of his eloquence his lyricism is captivantly elegiac, sometimes intermixed with joyous poetry of a radiant feeling.

Whenever Metropolitan Nikolai is, of necessity, mentally carried away from the sphere of purely religious ideas to the world of current events, his thought does not become divorced from the heart, but remains warm and inspired. Here I mean his patriotic orations in the church. In them he continues to be a religious poet and artist, touching the life's nerves with his ardent thought and adamant will.

Recognizing and respecting the existing authority in the name of Divine dispensation and selflessly loving his native land and his people, he gives a correct assessment of his country's position in the hard years of the Patriotic War. Hence his ardent appeals to believers for help to the Motherland in terms of physical strength, funds, faith, love, prayer and self-sacrifice. He wrathfully censures all kind of negligence towards, and betrayal of, the Homeland and anathematizes traitors for breaking the unity of love and brotherhood of the Russian people's family.

His delight over victorious operations of the glorious Red Army and sincere grief at the sight of our destroyed towns and settlements under the pressure of the brutal Nazi forces show that he follows the life's path side by side and shoulder to shoulder with his people. He seeks pacification of the heart's discords, and finds it, in the light of the Word of God and in the faith in God's help.

Addressing foreign visitors at church and civil solemnities, Metropolitan Nikolai usually sets off current and foreseeable contacts between our and foreign Churches in Christ.

Such is the striking impression produced by Metropolitan Nikolai's *Homilies*. This collection is an excellent guide to teaching contemporary pastors the

art of homiletics, is a mellifluous ringing of bells calling people for salvation.

By his methods of preaching the word of God, Metropolitan Nikolai undoubtedly promotes the strictly life-like trend of Russian preaching.

In conclusion of this homiletic essay it should be

said that those contemporary Russian pastors, who failed to make a thorough study of Metropolitan Nikolai's *Homilies* and, hence to learn from them how to preach the Gospel, have not finished the genuine school of modern church oratory.

Bishop VENIAMIN Milov (1955)

Startsy of the Glinskaya Hermitage

In October 1990 at the Moscow Theological Schools a meeting devoted to the history of the Glinskaya Hermitage took place. An MTS employee G. Pylneva and an MTS teacher, Priest Aleksandr Chesnokov, author of "The Glinskaya Hermitage of the Nativity of the Mother of God and its Famous Startsy of the 20th Century", shared with the audience their reminiscences about the startsy who had lived in the cloister in the post-war years.

In the post-war years in place of the former Glinskaya Hermitage pilgrims could see only the remains of the eastern wall of the monastery, the corner tower and the hospital church. There was no the venerated Icon of the Nativity of the Holy Mother of God in the cloister, but only its copy. In 1942 several monks got a permission to settle in the monastery. They were given a small plot of land and permitted to gather firewood in the near-by forest, which had been planted by monks long before. Father Nektary, who had witnessed the closure of the cloister in 1922 headed the brethren. In the monastery revived on the ruins everything was simple: a small church, a primitive belfry, a shed where workshops were housed, and a small block of cells. In the old building pilgrims stayed for the night and there was also a wafer-bakery on the ground floor and a sewing workshop—on the first floor.

First pilgrims appeared there during the war. After the war their number began to increase. People were coming from all over Russia to this remote place: the last fifteen kilometres they had to walk. The cloister received everyone, nobody was forgotten. Pilgrims slept on the floor on mattresses stuffed with straw. They were given pillows, smelling of straw, and blankets. For meals monks and pilgrims had the same—mostly shchi (cabbage soup—*Tr.*) and kasha. One could live in such a way without thinking of a roof over one's head and of food (the cloister gave shelter and food to everybody free of charge) for three days, after which pilgrims either returned home or received a monastery obedience.

What attracted thousands of pilgrims to the Glinskaya Hermitage? First of all the spiritual atmosphere

which had existed in the cloister before the revolution and which the startsy carried through all hardships and exiles and brought back to the Glinskaya Hermitage. Everybody felt at home there: benefactors and those who had given nothing to the cloister, those who had friends in the cloister and newcomers. The only thing that mattered was that a man came to God. For the brethren service to pilgrims meant



Archimandrite Serafim Amelin, Father Superior of the Glinskaya Hermitage

service to God. Offices were free of charge, candles were very cheap, charity-box was being carried about only once a week. There were cases when pilgrims borrowed money and did not return it, but the startsy continued to lend money for they preferred to be deceived rather than to hurt somebody's feelings with suspicion and distrust. The startsy did everything together, always discussed important things at a council. Once they considered the decision of the bishop of the diocese not to feed numerous pilgrims. Father Andronik pronounced the common opinion: "It is not we who feed the people but the people feed us. We cannot refuse shelter and bread to people."

Old monks, worn out by years of repressions, with wounds on their feet, sometimes moving with great difficulty, went to the church to pray. The prayer united everybody, reconciled them to the difficulties of life, to the worries of the old age unprovided for (there was rumour that the cloister would be closed down soon). During services startsy stayed behind pilgrims sometimes in the corridor. At the hermitage they helped a man open his soul to God, master the spiritual experience of the Church. Sermons were delivered here only by guest priests (it was not done by startsy), but the words of the Holy Fathers always sounded in the cloister. Numerous pilgrims wishing to confess to startsy formed a long queue since morning. A witness recalls how a woman who had made a long way to the hermitage was making her confession. Father Andronik weeping over her was repeating: "How could you insult God like this?" The confessing woman was so impressed by the monk's grief over her sins that walking away from the lecturn she said: "I shall come home, pass the winter, God willing, and in spring I shall sell the heifer to come here once again."

Once the arrival of a hierarch was expected at the hermitage. A woman benefactor of the cloister asked Father Superior Serafim who was going to read the kathismata. It was the turn of an old monk with a weak, tinkling voice. The woman suggested that someone else should read but Father Serafim said: "Let him read, it's his turn. Why offend him?" It was respect for a man that was the most important thing.

There were pilgrims who wrote complaints to the rector of the near-by church. But he sent them nowhere knowing very well that piety arouses hostility only of those who are of this world in spirit and for whom it is difficult to understand that the strength of God is made perfect in weakness (2 Cor. 12:9). Some of the startsy of the hermitage began their monastic life within its walls before the revolution. It is difficult to write about each of them—there is not much information left. "There are many great and glorious ones, but Mysteries are revealed to the humble,"—Isaac Syrus used to say. This trait, now



very rare, was characteristic of the startsy of the hermitage. They did not try to lecture and moreover to impose their opinion on people. Those who asked them questions received answers, to those who had not taken a decision they advised to take time and weigh everything. If a believer asked for a blessing for the decision taken in most cases he was not dissuaded from it but warned about a possible danger. It is even impossible to imagine that one of the startsy could order somebody or threaten with punishment for disobedience.

Father Serafim Amelin was a man of amazing humility. Everybody who came to the monastery felt it. After the hermitage had been closed down for the second time in 1961 a local militia-man told me: "What an old man! I would go to the Glinskaya Hermitage busting with anger, call on him to talk. He would tell me nothing unusual, just ordinary, well-known things. And something happens to me, I don't know what: I can neither shout nor frighten." Talking with the starets people began to realize that there was another world with different values, different aims, different everyday life. It was marvellous to keep silent with him: pacification, lucidity and silence enveloped the soul. Father Serafim kept an album with views of the Glinskaya Hermitage of the time when he had come there as a youth secretly from his father who insisted on his son's marriage. He showed me his favourite place in the church where after the devastation only a heap of crushed bricks was left. What gave him strength to endure pain at the sight of this devastation? The starets' answer was always the same: "The will of God." And there was neither irritation, nor condemnation of barbarians unable to appreciate the sacred, or grievous regret in his words. He was a rare example of a man so deep-rooted in his belief in the will of God that it gave him full independence of any circumstances.

Father Andronik—a stooped but always cheerful and calm starets (he was nearly seventy years old then)—came to the monastery at the age of eighteen secretly from his father but with the blessing of his mother. In comparison with his former, peasant life,

A copy of the Glinskaya Hermitage Icon of the Nativity of the Mother of God



and weaknesses but never condemned anyone. Once Father Superior Serafim was brought an icon of the Mother of God "Consolation of All the Afflicted" for renovation—the icon had been cut up by somebody. Seeing it Father Andronik fell down on his knees and prayed for those who had dared to do it, asking forgiveness for them. He possessed the inner freedom inherent in people unattached to anything worldly who can be satisfied with only the most necessary things; this freedom can be attained through victory over passions holding the man prisoner. Always busy, always among people, feeling for them and praying with them, Father Andronik saw in achievements only the grace of God and not the fruits of his labours. He never persuaded or forced anybody but simply invited people to participate in common labour. And people followed him willingly, gladly.

He felt deeply for the brethren worried by the rumour that the monastery would be closed down. He used to say: "Where there is a monk there is a monastery." In 1961, when the cloister was closed down Father Andronik went to Georgia to Metropolitan Zinovy, who had also begun his monastic life at the Glinskaya Hermitage.

At the cell of Father Serafim Romantsov, confessor of the hermitage, who lived on the first floor of the corner tower, there was a constant crowd of people waiting their turn to enter and ask for advice or a blessing. With all his heart he tried to understand a person turning to him for help. Especially cautiously he treated "miracles" and "predicting dreams", knowing that a man could easily be flattered by the enemy to satisfy his pride. He liked to repeat that a righteous man sought humility and not miracles. Some pilgrims said he was strict, but Father Serafim insisted only on fulfilling everything one believed in.

When the cloister was closed down the starets went to the Caucasus, to a place well-known to him where he had lived after the first closure of the monastery.

Father ALEKSANDR CHESNOKOV

the new life looked like heaven to Alyosha (his secular name). He carried out obediences in the laundry, in the kitchen and in the skete. From there he was taken to the army. He had just terminated his military service when World War I broke out. So he had to return to the front. He could come back to the Glinskaya Hermitage only in 1918 not long before it was closed down. In the Soviet period Father Andronik served his sentence on the Kolyma and on Sakhalin. That the hermitage had been opened again he found out in 1948 in Novosibirsk and hurried to the monastery.

He lived through many things, knew people's sins

On Alma Ata Events

Lately, the Russian Orthodox Church has been afflicted with a trial which is fraught with a new schism. The Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia opens new parishes on the territory of the Moscow Patriarchate. Moreover, she seizes the functioning ones, forgetting the fact that the Orthodox Church should bring love and harmony.

The events, that took place in Alma Ata, have stirred the whole diocese.

On March 2, 1992, contrary to the blessing given by Archbishop Aleksy of Alma Ata and Semipalatinsk on the appointment of Archpriest Yevgeny Boblylov as a new rector of the Protecting Veil Church, Archpriest Aleksandr Voisonovich, head of the church council Zinaida Nikiforova, and watchman Roman Katkov, blasphemously threw out on to the church-porch Father Yevgeny's things, including the priest's cross, cassocks and books. They willfully closed the church and prevented the new rector and clerics from conducting a divine service. Moreover, they made an official statement about their withdrawal from the jurisdiction of the Moscow Patriarchate, going over

under the jurisdiction of the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia and about the arrival of "bishop" Valentin Rusanov to Alma Ata. All this testifies to a thorough preparation for the action, and shows that the appointment of a new rector was only a convenient occasion.

Father Yevgeny and several priests attempted to enter the territory of the church, but their way was barred by the armed watchman who threatened to use force against them. Archpriest Yevgeny Boblylov and Father Artem Khonin informed the ruling hierarchy of what had taken place and immediately turned to parishioners for help. Supported by the city's clergy, the Orthodox youth and students of the diocesan theological school, Father Yevgeny and several priests, risking their lives, occupied the territory of the church, sealed up the building and set up a round-the-clock watch.

In the morning, clergymen and Orthodox people hurried to the church, where they unanimously and conciliarly condemned the crime perpetrated. On March 6, a joint meeting of the Diocesan Council and the Parish Co-

uncil was held in the Church of the Protecting Veil in Alma Ata, which unanimously reaffirmed their canonical belonging to the Russian Orthodox Church.

By an ukase of Archbishop Aleksy of Alma Ata and Semipalatinsk, Archpriest Aleksandr Voisonovich was dismissed. He repented in public of the crime committed against the unity of the Holy Church and submitted a petition for forgiveness. Having thoroughly considered the case, the diocesan council resolved to debar Archpriest Aleksandr Voisonovich from celebrating Divine Liturgy and administering Holy Communion till the Feast of the Lord's Entry into Jerusalem (1992) and to ask Archbishop Aleksy to place him at the disposal of the dean of the St. Nicholas Cathedral in Alma Ata.

Father Valentin Sazonov, chairman of the Parish Council, was appointed in his place as the second cleric of the church.

The Diocesan Council addressed a message to the flock, which read in part: "The Holy One Catholic and Apostolic Orthodox Church has always viewed schism as one of the gravest

crimes against the Church, considering it the greatest evil, even graver than murder or idolatry. Comparing schism with heresy, Chrysostom said that breaking the unity and the plenitude of the Church is as evil as heresy. Therefore, in accordance with the rules of the holy apostles and of the holy Ecumenical and Local Councils, schismatic presbyters as well as other clergymen, who join these schismatic presbyters, are to be defrocked. As for the laymen who join such presbyters, the rules prescribe to excommunicate them." The Diocesan Council also resolved to excommunicate Zinaida Nikiforova and Roman Katkov, who did not repent of the crime, till their complete and sincere repentance.

The Chief Shepherd Christ, our Lord, has guarded His flock against a terrible grief, the sin for causing which is not atoned even by martyrdom. The Lord Himself foresaw temptations and schism, but it was He who strengthened His faithful, promising them: *I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it* (Mt. 16.18).

Father
GEORGY GUTOROV

Orthodoxy and Economy

"History of the world is history of the Church, which is the mystical base of the world"—such is a laconic and capacious at the same time characteristic of the role of religion and of the Church on the way of development of mankind, given by V. Lossky, an outstanding Russian theologian living abroad. Both society as a whole and different spheres of human activity, economy included, can be estimated from this position. Showing the supreme purpose of the life of

man and setting moral and ethical limits to his freedom, religion at the same time forms spiritual stimuli for the economic activity and moral criteria of the economic behaviour in society.

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The problem of spiritual basing of economic processes is not new, however modern politicians,

scientists, publicists are only beginning to realize its importance. Such a belated recovery of sight rouses anxiety for as a key to the gates of the "market heaven" our people is often offered a denial of Orthodoxy and re-education in the spirit of Western Christianity. It is especially suspicious that these calls come from those who consider themselves adherents of democracy and values common to all mankind and who are entrusted today with the lot of Russia.

"Democratic" editions suggest that in his pre-election interview to the TV President of Russia has declared that "Orthodox asceticism is a hindrance on the way to the market abundance". And as a conclusion—Ye. Bonner's suggestion "to break off with Orthodoxy".

That is why the intent attention to and "care" for us of the Holy Roman See and numerous Protestant organizations are not surprising. Those wishing to "break off" with the tradition of their people are offered various ways of support—from organization of shows for thousands of people with the participation of touring preachers to the opening of new Catholic bishoprics on the Russian territory. The society standing at the historical cross-roads, seeking answers not only to eternal, moral but also to everyday social and economic questions is ready to follow him who will offer it such answers. This is what Protestants and Catholics stake on. Their calculation is not groundless for by now Western Churches have gained a rich experience of social service, solving of acute problems raised by the modern industrial economy.

The birth of capitalism itself was closely connected with a deep shock in the religious sphere—appearance of a new branch of Christianity, the Reformation. As an outstanding German sociologist, M. Veber, has shown, Protestant dogmata and ethical principles favoured the formation of the "capitalist spirit"—spirit of rationalism, enterprise and striving for success. Special emphasis M. Veber laid on the dogma of the "predestination to salvation", according to which every person at birth is destined by God either to eternal bliss or to eternal suffering after death and no one can change anything in this high will by his deeds. A man can only make sure that he is a chosen one the evidence of which, according to Protestant theologians, is the success on the road he takes. There are many controversial things in M. Veber's theories, however the idea of the religious conditionality of one or another socio-economic system itself deserves close attention. Following the Protestants who have placed the ideal of Christian asceticism in the service of accumulation of capital by the self-satisfied bourgeois, the Catholic Church joins the treatment of socio-political problems.

It was already in 1435 that Pope Eugenius IV specially condemned slave-trade of the blacks (bull "Dumum Nostras") and Pope Paul III in his exhortation "Veritas Ipsa" came out in defence of American Indians, their dignity and right to freedom. The starting-point for the development of the social

doctrine of Catholicism is considered to be Pope Leo XIII's encyclic "Rerum Novarum" of 1891, written in the period of the aggravation of antagonism between workers and capitalists. On the one hand it stood for the right of man to work, to organizations and trade unions, to shorter working hours, to labour protection and "just payment", and on the other hand, defended the right to private property.

As far as the modern views of Catholics on these questions are concerned, they, to a great extent, are conditioned by the situation in the countries of the former Soviet block. Trying to gain authority among the peoples, who have just freed themselves from the grip of state atheism, Catholic ideologists headed by John-Paul II himself, offering up their prayers to God thanking him for the ruin of Marxism, do not forget at the same time to mention the shortcomings of the capitalist system, both economic and moral. Using the social sciences' terminology the modern socio-economic doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church can be characterized as a special variant of the theory of convergence—fusion of the elements of the two main systems, which have existed in the world, into one ideal system of the future; the only difference being that the majority of the suggested theories of convergence were of a technocratic nature and substantiated the future unification of the social order in the whole world by the common laws of technical development, while Catholics base their theory on moral and ethical norms common to all mankind. Among the latter, the most frequently mentioned ones are recognition of a human individuality as the highest value in the world, recognition of personal freedom and dignity, responsibility of every individual for his deeds, solidarity of people.

In the second half of our century there appear political parties of Christian orientation. They wielded the greatest political influence in West Germany. Basing on both Catholic and Protestant teachings their ideologists—economists of neoliberal orientation (V. Oiken, L. Erhard, O. Nel-Broining)—worked out a special model of society—"Social market economy" which was realized in the FRG starting from the fifties. As one of the authors of this model, an expert in questions of religious motivation of economic development, A. Müller-Armak, wrote "the idea of the socio-market economy is to combine the principle of the market freedom with the principle of social equalization". Socio-market economy implies preservation of such principles as private property, protection of which is guaranteed by the state, freedom of occupation, freedom of consumption, tariff autonomy meaning freedom of contract-signing between workers and employers. At the same time the role of the state gains its importance, especially in the spheres of social security and antimonopolistic activity. The result—a swift rise of the economy with social stability being preserved—has been rightfully called German economic miracle.

All this testifies to the fact that the social doctrine of the Church (different Churches to be exact) in the West is not just a sum of dead postulates but a living reality, on which the authority of the Church today largely depends.

Today when the crash of the social system is combined with the active expansion of foreign missions in Russia the possibilities of Orthodoxy to preserve its place in the spiritual life of the people will to a great extent depend on the ability of our Church to give her own estimation of new social phenomena (democracy, enterprise, competition, social stratification), her own answers to acute questions. They must reflect all the truth of Orthodoxy and be based on Russian traditions in labour, enterprise and charity worked out for centuries under the influence of the Orthodox Church.

Speaking of the evolution of our Church in the renovating society it should be noted that a great part (if not the overwhelming majority) of people sincerely supporting Orthodoxy in Russia until today, where it concerns the question of the "limits of competence" of the Church, adhere to the position characteristic of the 70-years epoch of state atheism. Since the only mission of the church organization, according to them, is spiritual and moral upbringing of people and since it is already well armed for this purpose with the Holy Scripture and the Holy Fathers' heritage it is not necessary, as they think, for the Orthodox Church to analyze modern socio-economic problems and to work out a special "doctrine". Moreover they ignore the fact that a new epoch raises new problems which need interpretation in the light of Christ's Commandments. Attention of the Western Churches to the above-mentioned problems is called a divergence from "true predestination" to the sphere of secular problems. Such a point of view may be conditioned by historical reasons in the first place. The period of the formation of the social teaching of the Church in its modern sense traditionally coincides with the bourgeois industrial development of nations. But for the majority of Orthodox states this period having just begun turned into an epoch of grandiose political experiments, as a result of which the role of the Church was reduced to "performance of religious rites" and practically could not overstep these limits.

However, Orthodoxy laid the foundations of its socio-economic conception long before, both in theology and in practical spheres. First exhortations of this type in the Eastern Church date back to the time of great teachers St. Basil the Great and St. John Chrysostom. In their works they paid much attention to questions of social justice and social ideal. St. John Chrysostom's attitude to poverty, for instance, was not one-sided. He noted its unattractive sides, condemned ostentatious limitation of one's life necessities, differentiated between the wealth achieved by honest and dishonest ways. The great saint stressed the importance of the division of labour in society, considering the fact that "nobody can gain anything

by his labour without doing something for the other at the same time" a wise plan of God. At the same time St. John Chrysostom dreamed of an ideal society (after the example of the first Christian communities), of the time when there would be no poor. To prove that this aim could be reached he made interesting mathematical calculations showing that only a small donation was necessary from every prosperous man. The saint himself showed examples of charity many times both as a private person and as head of the Constantinople See. Finally, attention should be paid to St. John Chrysostom's views in favour of collective farming. According to him it is much cheaper to be a member of a collective farm than to buy for oneself things which can serve many. This truth finds confirmation both in a family and a monastery.

The history of Russian Orthodoxy shows that aloofness from the world never was its overwhelming characteristic. Contemplative asceticism was combined in it with the asceticism of selfless labour, with seeking for earthly benefits, the evidence of which is coexistence in the host of saints of our Church of such figures as St. Nil of Sora and St. Iosif of Volokolamsk, opposite and as if supplementing each other. The latter is known to have been an adherent of active social service of the Church on the basis of the riches she possessed. The founder of a monastery and a fighter with heresy, the hegumen of Volokolamsk is also known for his exhortations in which he raised acute questions of his time. Thus, in his letter to the prince of Dmitrov the saintly man called on the prince to take care of his land, distribute bread among the poor in famine and control prices on bread. Interceding for the "serfs" before the landowners St. Iosif emphasizes their mutual economic interests. "Be kind to your peasant serfs. The more you make the peasant work and the more you take away from him the results of his work by force, the sooner he will grow poor... And when peasant fields become desolate will the owner of the estate not suffer damage himself for the damage he caused to the peasant?... But the one who privileges the peasant tills desolate lands. Being not forced by the owner the peasant, having finished his work, will do his best working for his landlord: replete himself, he will return the metayage without arrears". Thus the zealot of the town of Volokolamsk using both the word of God and his own authority had been putting into life in Russia of the 16th-17th centuries principles of social peace and solidarity, real importance of which was realized in Western Europe (the Church including) only three centuries later.

Though the Christian point of view on the problems of the new time, the industrial epoch in our country had practically no time to be formed, some steps in this direction, however, were made. Today when the Church has canonized Metropolitan Vladimir Bogoyavlensky one cannot help remembering that this saint and martyr was one of the first who already in 1906-1907, during the "dress rehearsal" of the future revolution tried to find answers to questions that

worried his contemporaries most of all. His lectures on property, labour, the working class problem are still to find their way to the modern reader. At the same period of time Orthodox authors of Russia began to discuss the question of the place and perspectives of man in the machine production, Christian socialism was being born and polemics between its adherents and opponents was growing wider. Works by V. Soloviev, S. Bulgakov and other theologians, raising questions of correlation between religion and socio-economic life, started to appear. It is significant that S. Bulgakov, already a priest, considered the term "social Christianity" which had come from the Western Church quite suitable for Orthodoxy. After October 1917 these ideas were being developed by many Russian theologians living abroad, but later this tradition broke off.

As we can see both Orthodox theology and Russian public thought developing within the framework of Orthodoxy were not at all alien to the most acute problems of their time—economic and the consequent social ones. However in practice the Orthodox traditions played an even greater role in solving these problems. Of numerous examples we would like to dwell on the development of monastery economy (especially in the epoch of feudalism in our country) and on the formation of a special style of Russian enterprise in the late 19th-early 20th centuries.

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From olden times monasteries have played an important role not only in the spiritual, moral and cultural development of Russia but also in its economic progress. They were in the centre of important historical processes of the unification of Russian lands around Moscow, which formed the all-Russian market, of developing Russian industry and agriculture both extensive—cultivation of new lands, and intensive—improvement of crops, introduction of modern technology, etc.

Great is the contribution of Orthodox monasticism to the development of north-eastern territories of the future great Russian power. Moving from the lived-in Kievan lands to cold, forest region monks together with the light of Christian faith brought, as a rule, unknown crops and new technology. Especially important became the role of monasteries in the period of feudal division and of the Mongol-Tatar yoke, when the Church remained practically the only force uniting the Russian people. "Statistically rapid, fantastically incredible growth of Russian monasticism in the north" in this period of time an outstanding historian of the Russian Church A. Kartashev quite originally explains by "Asian mimicry of the northern Russian tribe based on the instinct of self-preservation" when "secular peasant population surrounded a modest monk-recluse provided for his physical existence and for the Tatars presented a usual picture of a Buddhist monastery served by the adjacent population and for that freed from the

excessive burden of taxes to be paid to the Asian, theocratic state". Such a statement of the historian may be disputable, but the Church on the whole and monasteries as part of her undoubtedly were the cover under the protection of which, in unfavourable conditions of a foreign yoke, the embryo of the future rise of the Russian nations was ripening.

In the period of developed feudalism the Church becomes the richest landowner. In the first half of the 17th century in the Moscow Gubernia the share of church lands in different uyezds varied from 40 to 60 per cent while lands belonging to landlords and patrimonial estates made up 38 per cent, the rest of the territory being desolate. Significant is the way monasteries reallocated lands between peasants.

On the land belonging to the Monastery of St. Iosif of Volokolamsk both community and its separate representatives could demand the reallocation. The question of the reallocation was discussed by the community gathering, the decision was sent to the monastery administration for approval. The reallocation could be also carried out without the ukase from the monastery, however if during such a reallocation any differences arose, it was considered illegal.

The monastery rarely interfered in this process, the monastery authorities were only informed of the results. The interference of the landowner was necessary only in case of controversies which were being settled at community gatherings held on the initiative of the monastery. More substantial was the participation of the monastery in reallocations between two or several communities. However it did not mean that the decision was imposed on the community. Monastery stewards had to see to it that the elected measurers did their job honestly as well as to defend the latter from possible attacks on the part of peasants.

From the moment of the foundation of the monastery the intramonastery industry starts to develop, there appear different workshops: joiner's, spinning, weaving, tailor's, shoe-making as well as icon-painting and jeweller's shops growing into plants with time. The Trinity-St. Sergy Lavra had a candle-works and the Monastery of St. Iosif of Volokolamsk—a brickworks. Evidently not all the production of monastery enterprises was used for monastery needs, part of it was being sold.

Monasteries also actively engaged in trade. Trading settlements and quarters grew outside their walls, fairs were being organized regularly. Near the Monastery of St. Iosif of Volokolamsk a market was organized four times a year: on the Holy Trinity Day, St. Peter's Day, and on the Feasts of the Dormition and of the Nativity of the Mother of God. Often monasteries had their trade podvorya in cities and big towns like Moscow, Novgorod, Pskov, Kiev, Samara.

Orthodox monasteries are well known for their charity. It should be noted that their socio-economic programme was very well thought out. Trying to avoid poverty in their possessions cloisters helped

the population during famine, epidemics, fires, gave assistance to peasants in their work, took care of parentless children, sick laymen and monks.

For lack of information about the economic activity of monasteries today it is difficult to compare the effectiveness of the monastery management with the traditional landlord's management. However there are some indirect facts in favour of greater productivity on monastery lands. For example, one can compare figures showing the amount of land possessed by monasteries (nearly 1/3 of all tilled land of Russia) and number of serf peasants (average 13.3 per cent) which means that the land belonging to monasteries was tilled by lesser labour force. Monasteries are also known to have received numerous investments, a considerable part of which because of the effective distribution of means was not used for reproduction and stayed in cloisters. These were church plate and valuables.

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...Orthodoxy had its influence on the Russian enterprise. However today this problem cannot be regarded practically without taking into consideration what M. Veber wrote about the role of Protestantism in the formation of capitalist economy. The outstanding German sociologist singled out the Protestant religion first of all for its exceptional rationalism, which, to his mind, had become the pillar stone of the so-called "capitalist spirit". However those, who are so enthusiastic today about M. Veber's "discovery" and so distressed by the lack of the "Protestant ethics" in our people, do not suspect probably that Orthodoxy has worked out its own model of economic rationalism. Moreover, the literary bearer of this model is well known. This is *Domostroi* (rules of family life—*Tr.*), a book written by Archpriest Silvestr of the Moscow Annunciation Cathedral, spiritual father of young Tsar Ivan IV.

As a document of the epoch when market economy was just beginning to form, the epoch of political clashes, *Domostroi* reflected a constantly unstable situation dangerous for any enterpriser. Hence the intention to minimize dependence on outer factors, the cult of zealousness and thrift. Hence also the particular concern for one's reputation, because at any moment a person could find himself in such a situation that without his neighbours' or even strangers' help he could lose not only his property but his life as well. In such a situation the evangelic wisdom repeated by Silvestr got a practical meaning: "...any misfortune and persecution accept with gratitude, when offended do not revenge yourself, when abused—pray, do not render evil for evil, do not condemn those who have sinned, remember of your own sins..." It was necessary to follow this commandment daily, hourly in order to become trustworthy and solvent. Concern for the reputation could also be seen in the way the quality factor was treated. "If the article sold does not satisfy the customer I will

take it back and return him his money," the author of *Domostroi* wrote. Many generations of Russian merchants were brought up in this traditions. As Vladimir Pavlovich Ryabushinsky, representative of the second generation of a well-known family recalled later: "the way of life up to the revolution could be called patriarchal, everybody sat in his estate like Western medieval feudals in their castles." Oriented at the Orthodox morality and people's wisdom representatives of this milieu "learned trifles, ritual, and, through them, the spirit of Moscow economic activity".

However, Orthodoxy not only found its own equivalent to Protestant rationalism. From the very beginning it proceeded from higher moral criteria which could not help influencing the business sphere. As opposed to the Protestant "predestination to salvation" and "justification by faith" the ethical norm of Orthodoxy is according to Archpriest Sergy Bulgakov, "walking before the Lord with the thought of being responsible to Him". For an Orthodox the success of his enterprise itself, the income received is not yet the evidence of the ethical justification and godliness of his life. "It is better to live in honest poverty than in dishonest wealth", the *Domostroi* prescribes. And the majority of Russian merchants often blamed for their "inclination to fraud" strictly followed this commandment.

The majority of Moscow merchants were of peasant origin. They came from villages with knapsacks and in bast shoes and became millionaires. But their moral make-up, habits, mode of life stayed unaltered, life in the capital only polished them outwardly. Merchants cherished their ancient traditions and faith of their fathers and grandfathers.

Literary and publicistic works depicting that time contain numerous proofs of the extreme religiousness of merchants sometimes described by the term "obscurantism". But rarely did they stress the positive impulse which this religiousness gave to the development of private enterprises and of the economy as a whole. And rarely did they mention the fact that churchiness comprised not only all-Christian norms but traditional, practical virtues: rationalism including industry, zeal, enterprise (resourcefulness), circumspection, reliability and punctuality in business relations, temperance and charity. Observance of Christian norms of behaviour was connected with success, economic process was perceived as Divine Providence, where the will of man is often powerless.

The system of values directly connected with Orthodoxy in many respects determined the behaviour of representatives of the Moscow trade and industry and became the basis of the intramerchant relations. The Old Testament Book of Job was very popular among merchants. There the prophet said: *If I have made gold my hope, or have said to the fine gold, Thou art my confidence; If I rejoiced because my wealth was great, and because mine hand had gotten much... I should have denied the God that is above... but He does not... regardeth the rich*

more than the poor... For they all are the work of his hands (Job 31.24-26, 28; 34.19). And it is not fortuitous that such a phenomenon as conclusion of deals on word of honour sealed not with a signature but with the sign of the cross became common practice in Russia. Good was the word of a merchant and this may have been one of the reasons why even under the conditions of a developed market economy many deals were being concluded outside the exchange—in storehouses and taverns. V. Gilyarovsky, expert on the Moscow way of life in the early 20th century, describes one of such taverns called the "grain exchange" where "rich merchants gathered together for tea, concluded deals, whispered each other in the ear, showed samples of their goods, shook hands on it and went to the 'Yar' [steep bank—*Tr.*] restaurant. In an hour an agent from some port could bring information about increase of prices which made the deal concluded an hour before unprofitable. But the word having been given, the merchants had to incur losses."

Often a merchant could use only his credit capital. Credit was given only on trust. At that time the words "trust" and "credit" were synonyms. It is noteworthy that a credit bearing no interest was of paramount importance.

Typical are trade methods of Mikhail Alekseyevich Sokolov, whose second-hand bookshop was in Moscow, in Nikitskaya Street. They said he could see into the soul of his customer. When a book-lover came to his shop and started raking on the shelves Sokolov felt immediately that the customer needed some book badly but had no money. In such cases he used to give to a surprised customer a heap of books of substantial value on credit, on trust.

Such interrelations used to be established on the basis of the reputation of a businessman or a firm. They were estimated differently than in France, for example, where a merchant who tried to sell his goods at prices as high as possible, even at the cost of the reduction of commodity circulation, was considered a good one. In Russia on the contrary a firm was considered a good one if it could sell cheaper than its competitors. However, this cheapness could not be achieved at the expense of the employees' payment.

A firm could be considered a good one when its employees knew that their position was better than at other enterprises, and quitted only to start their own business. Firms where employees changed often because of bad working conditions were not respected. They were contemptuously called "through yards".

Cult of honest competition was another manifestation of good morals of Russian enterprise before the revolution. P. Buryshkin, author of memoirs "The Merchant Moscow" wrote: "Among Moscow 'buyer-ups' (wholesale traders of textile—*Auth.*) there was no community at all, I don't know why, though they were acquainted with each other. But their relations were mostly of domestic than of business character. They never exchanged information on a customer's solvency or any other kind of business data. It was

considered irrelevant to visit another merchant's storehouse even if he was a friend. Merchants must have been afraid that in such a way some commercial secrets could be found out which provided for 'unfair competition'." Recollections of a well-known Moscow merchant P. Shchukin who, speaking much of his customers, never said a word about his competitors, are an indirect evidence of this.

The result of constant "walking before the Lord" was also generous charity of Russian enterprisers. Suffice it to name the sums of money some of them spent on charity: Bakhrushins—3.4 million roubles, Tretyakovs—3.1, A. Medvednikova—more than 2, G. Solodovnikov—more than 10 million roubles, etc. And the contribution of S. Mamontov, S. Morozov, K. Alekseyev (Stanislavsky) to the Russian culture cannot be estimated in money. Being a great stimulus for the development of health care, education and culture charity donations became one of the factors of social stability controls in the country. Moreover, petty traders, like well-known merchant families, also donated money on charity. Such was the Russian alternative to "murderous laws" against the poor and beggars on which capitalism in other "civilized" countries grew.

No less important a guarantee of social stability was a special type of intrafirm relations characteristic of the Russian enterprise: the Orthodox spirit of sobornost, the striving for integrity within any social organism—a family, an enterprise or a state. Speaking about his father's business V. Ryabushinsky recalled: "The staff starting with the manager, accountants, shop assistants, the artel members and workers to terminate—all of them were many-years employees. It was a very rare case when somebody was dismissed. It was done only in case of very serious offences, theft or reckless hard drinking. The attitude was patriarchal. If someone was leaving without special reasons it was an offence for the master. In respectable firms they used to say proudly: 'They leave us only when they die'".

A factory in Russia in the late 19th-early 20th century became a "town in itself" where one could find everything necessary for life: a school, a hospital, dwellings for employees, a canteen, a library, a maternity hospital, a home for the aged. Even a theatre sometimes, like at the Nikolskaya Manufactory belonging to Savva Morozov.

Factory canteens belonged to artels and were cheap, and in factory shops one could buy on credit. Enterprises had their own fire-fighting crews and policemen; they considered servicing of the surrounding population as their duty.

Such a situation existed till the end of the 19th century and its ruin and transition to the depersonalized relations of the large-scale industry appeared to be very painful for the Russian proletariat, yesterday's patriarchal peasant. It is a pity that this side of the economic progress in our country has not gotten yet into the field of vision of historians studying the reasons of the revolution of 1905-1907.

And one more peculiarity of business life in Russia of those years also connected with the spirit of sobornost of the Russian man, with his belief in community as the best way of achieving any object, with his hostile attitude towards unrestrained egoism should be mentioned here. It is artels, widely spread in all spheres of economy, especially in servicing enterprise activity: cashiers, executors of financial operations, warehouse keepers, stockbrokers. The artel not only gave such people certain guarantees in case of unforeseen circumstances but also answered for its members before clients, which meant that it was responsible for providing a certain level of services rendered.

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The moral basis of the economic activity of the pre-revolutionary Russia was determined by the requirements of Orthodox faith. It was an economy in which interests of individuals were not sacrificed to the abstract idea of economic effectiveness. Orthodox Russia was on her way to her own "social market economy" and far ahead of Western Europe. And today when the country is reviving free enterprise it is very important to turn to its thousand-years spiritual experience.

V. PIEMSKY, Yu. KALASHNOV, Ye. MALOFEYEVA,
Ye. PLATONOVA

The Problem of Social Service as Presented in M. Tareyev's Works

Today, when the history of Russia is at its turning point and our people are painfully looking for ways that could lead our society to spiritual recovery, the experience of people, who have already witnessed similar events at the close of the 19th century, are of particular interest. At that time, as contemporaries testify, Russia was also looking for new ways of moral, political and economic revival. Experience of this kind can be gleaned in the works of Professor M. Tareyev (1866-1934) of the Moscow Theological Academy, who specialized in moral theology. Let us analyze his work, *Living Souls*, and compare it with the present situation. (*Living Souls. A Study of the Moral Forces of Contemporary Russia*, Sergiev Posad, 1910).

Its author points out that this work was prompted by a high social upsurge experienced by Russia, which divided the history of the country into an old period of lawlessness and a new period of a "legal order, which is leading Russia into the family of civilized peoples as its equal member". He presents himself as a specialist in the field of morals, the aim of whose studies is a search for heroes, active champions of spiritual revival, who will eventually determine the vitality of the state and society. M. Tareyev writes that the people possesses enormous moral forces, but the contemporary forms of the official life of the Church are not adapted to arousing them, and therefore success is on the side of sectarian, Buddhist, Mohammedan movements, which are capable of attracting more adherents, owing to their freer religious thinking and experience. "The life of society has broken into two separate unconnected channels: the pagan, extra-religious channel, along which runs a mighty torrent of our almost entire culture, politics, in particular, and the (official) Christian channel, which is totally foreign to social current...", M. Tareyev writes. What are these moral Christian forces which are capable of arousing in people their inherent moral

energy and creating a precedent of Christian social service? The author of the book considers the social church situation from two points of view: a scientific, expounding the fundamentals of moral theology, and a practical one, describing the situation obtaining in the country and analyzing various forms of the Christian movement.

The scientific grounds are presented in the following way. There are three levels of ecclesiastical life: metaphysically-gracious, socio-natural and personally-conscious spheres. Due to historical reasons, the socio-natural sphere is undeveloped in Russia. Emphasis was made on the development of the liturgical (church) and personal (monastic) life. In the author's opinion, social service, as yet another way of salvation, is close to communion with the world's evil. He refers to the authority of Bishop Antony, who wrote on this score: "We have always had many pious people but have not had a pious society, a pious societal life." Therefore, the author of the book sees the aim of moral theology in viewing the concept of *tserkovnost* as a universal community of spiritually free individuals with a conciliar internal structure and with spiritual relations. The apostolic community in Jerusalem is a prototype of social service. It sets particularly great store by a selfless service to people, expressed in help to the sick and poor and in teaching and educating people in the spirit of Orthodoxy.

The convents set up at the end of the last century, whose aim was to render direct assistance to needy people, are seen by the author as a patent example of "living life". Among such cloisters was Kiev's Protecting Veil Convent founded by Grand Princess Aleksandra Petrovna for the development of people's medicine and training nuns-healers. M. Tareyev quotes the Grand Princess: "Living monasticism is a banner which is so dear to my heart, and which I hope to serve to till I breathe my last. No monastic vows and rules prevent us from loving our neighbours as ourself-

ves, to serve the sick, feed the poor, care for orphans and the wretched, teach those who want it, for this will double cloisters' strength and significance." During his travels the author of the book visited some more cloisters: the Virov and the Lesna convents, which also were centres of medical and charitable activity. In contrast to other cloisters, for which healing and educational service was a matter of secondary importance, these convents viewed service to one's neighbours as the basic means of salvation. The whole monastic life was concentrated on the treatment of people, charity and education of children. For Tareyev, this type of monastic life was more necessary and justified because it was in accord with the moods of Russian society at that time. The finest representatives of the youth sought to serve their people, but official forms of statehood and *tserkovnost* did not attract them, whereas antistate and antichurch trends were more adequate to the aims of social service. For this reason such monastic life, open for a broad assistance to suffering people, was understood by the author of the book as a wonderful opportunity for young people to put their noble impulses into practice. It should be pointed out that the founders of cloisters were chiefly representatives of high society and the intelligentsia.

The idea of a living service could be effectively applied in our days, too. Today the Church attracts many young people who want to help the needy and suffering. Various methods of healing, charity and instruction can be closer and more understandable to them who were brought up and educated in a secular tradition and are remote from ascetic monastic life. True, the lack of financial support is a serious impediment to organization of such charity centres. M. Tareyev also pointed out that all cloisters were supported by lavish donations of the royal family. Today assistance can come only from nascent commercial structures. It would certainly be worthwhile to establish contact with them, to help them develop and to exert an educative influence on them, for in the whole world, the organizations having to do with the spiritual sphere (museums, theatres, etc.), are chiefly maintained by entrepreneurs.

One of the serious differences between the current situation and the pre-revolutionary one is that in M. Tareyev's time the store of the people's moral strength was enormous, whereas today, because of the seventy-five-year squandering of the moral energy of the people, a new task has arisen—to replenish the lost resources. Rehabilitation of moral strength is directly linked with spiritual rebirth, that is, with beneficial upbringing and education, accumulation of moral energy through contact with holy shrines. It seems that the model of a living social service is difficult to achieve: today there are few people who are capable of self-sacrifice for the sake of their neighbour. However, some ideas of social service, of achieving a pious life of society can be materialized within the framework of the reviving church parish, because it can combine a spiritual-cultural centre,

a charitable organization, and a catechetical school. Inter-parish charitable, medical, publishing, cultural and other brotherhoods can exist in cooperation with the parish. In our opinion, it is the most accessible, in terms of organization and financing, form of social service, which is the basis for building a pious life of society.

The Labour Brotherhood of the Exaltation of the Cross near Chernigov, organized by N. Neplyuev, is another form of social Christian life, described by M. Tareyev in his book. The labour brotherhood was an association of Christians based on productive labour of its members, and their cenobitic life style is something intermediate between a monastery and a peasant community. Unlike the cloister, which treated and educated people, relying on outside assistance, the brotherhood did not engage in charitable activity outside its organization, but merely supported members of the community. Their life together, joint prayers, peasant labour and handicrafts, school instruction of children ensured a secure life and time for spiritual pursuits for members of the brotherhood. Entry into and withdrawal from the community were free. N. Neplyuev believed that under stiff capitalist conditions, a real Christian, who loves work that brings him no profit but is useful to society, will not stand competition or earn an extra kopeck. The way out for such honest labourers are brotherhoods which would guarantee them a decent life, education for their children and care in old age. But, as any type of commune, the brotherhood had also negative sides of such organization. On the one hand, a better organization of labour gave rise to an economic upsurge; on the other, the strict regimentation of life was transferred from the economic to the individual and spiritual side of existence, which engendered conflicts within the brotherhood. M. Tareyev also pointed to the brotherhood's excessive seclusion and suggested to pay more attention to charity and help to those who suffer outside its walls. However, for all its shortcomings, such type of Christian life has its advantages in the present troubled time of general dissociation and fall of morals. It is worthwhile to make a serious study of this experience and, if possible, to popularize it in the church press.

In conclusion I should like to say that at one time M. Tareyev's ideas of social service were subjected to doubts and criticism in the official ecclesiastical circles. Perhaps it was justified in the Russian situation of that period, but today, in the worn-out and fragmentated country, the idea of building an Orthodox social life, whose aim would be to extend every possible assistance to one's neighbour, combined with his spiritual enlightenment, undoubtedly describes implementation, because it is precisely along these lines that our country's revival can be achieved.

Ye. VUCHETICH

To Help the Suffering

Near Udelnaya Station, outside St. Petersburg, there is a hospital for mental patients, named after Skvortsov-Stepanov. Not far from it stands a neglected wooden church dedicated to St. Panteleimon the Great Martyr, which only recently housed the hospital storehouse. In the past the church with its golden cupola was surrounded by a shady park and stood in the centre of the complex of wooden pavilions of the Alms-House for Mental Patients, founded by Emperor Aleksandr III, who, when still Crown Prince, not only completely financed the construction of the hospital, but also annually donated 20,000 rubles from his personal funds for its maintenance. It is not without reason that the alms-house was considered a "model institution in all respects, noted for its luxury, simplicity and comfort".

The entire complex, together with the church, was designed by architect I. Shtrom, who consulted in his work prominent psychiatrists O. Chechott and P. Dyukov. It was consecrated in the presence of the Crown Prince on October 23, 1871, and since then the hospital has been functioning, constantly expanding, without changing its specialized character. Its church was closed down in 1929, although at other hospitals churches ceased to function a decade earlier.

Today, in the revived church, we can hear akathistoi to St. Panteleimon the Healer being read on Sundays by priest Aleksy Masnyuk of the St. Demetrius Church in the village of Kolomyaga.

"This hospital," Father Aleksy tells us, "is the first

in the city where, for the first time over the last 70 odd years, patients can pray and hear the words of pastoral consolation. It is a gratifying fact, but will this example be followed by other hospitals? In many hospitals the staff would also like to revive church life, and they address such requests to the St. Petersburg Soviet and the diocesan administration. Unfortunately, we are desperately short of funds needed for the restoration of hospital churches and the construction of new ones. Prior to the revolution hospital pastors received special training. Alas, we have proved to be unprepared for extensive Christian preaching in a society thoroughly depraved by atheism, but the time is calling us."

Formerly, the word of God, divine services and Holy Sacraments were considered the best medicine for the hospital's patients. Today, too, many specialists admit that mental diseases conceal much that is mysterious, and people, afflicted by them, often possess a special spiritual perspicacity. Figuratively speaking, heaven and the nether world show through the chinks of impaired consciousness. The life-giving salvific power of church Sacraments is undoubtedly effective both for the "fools" and the "raving", as two categories of mentally sick people were called in the past.

Father Aleksy points out that both religious people and doctors agree on the whole as to the causes of mental diseases, because every suffering has a spiritual cause, and medical men, who want to help their patients, should bear this in mind. In such hospitals co-

operation between the priest and the doctor is necessary.

Many medical men consider it was right that prior to the revolution theology was taught at medical faculties, while students of the Theological Academy were acquainted with the fundamentals of psychiatry. It is only the Merciful Lord, Who heals, although through the medium of doctors' hands, if they are merciful. And it is this that makes cooperation and establishment of a different kind of relations between people in the hospital possible.

In the last few decades it was believed that the causes of mental diseases lay in social conditions which were understood materialistically, although society should rather be viewed as a spiritual phenomenon. The whole of society is mentally sick if it has no faith in the Maker, if it ignores the Last Judgement and eternal retribution. As a consequence, such society finds itself in the grip of spite. And mental patients are victims, maimed by this spirit. In the past, zealots of faith fled from this spirit and founded monasteries to find protection there. Incidentally, the first mental hospitals were opened at cloisters. A person, spiritually maimed by a passionate, theomachist world, should have an opportunity to leave it for the sake of the Lord, in order to gain healing.

The patients cordially welcomed the clergyman. They attend divine services and talks together with the medical personnel; they find much that is new to them and begin to treat each other with more respect, like brothers.

"We are all equal before God," Father Aleksy says,

"we all suffer and hope to gain healing from Him and through His grace. Church communion is unthinkable without humility and compassion, which should oust from our society cruelty, worship of earthly strength and physical health.

In a godless society the sick and the weak have no support and justification for their existence. Such society rejects them. Things were different in Orthodox Russia where the suffering were treated with sincere sympathy.

Today the community at the St. Panteleimon Church is in need of all kind of assistance: in terms of money, help to a concrete patient, especially if he or she is a lonely person. For instance, to conduct molebens with the blessing of water in all the 24 hospital departments assistants and choristers are required. The clinic has two and a half thousand patients, whose destinies are different. Here we also find difficult, hardly manageable teenagers, alcoholics, war invalids with serious contusions and elderly people forsaken by their relatives. Only a common endeavour, vital and difficult, will lead to the revival of a genuine parish life, of whose decline many Orthodox believers now complain.

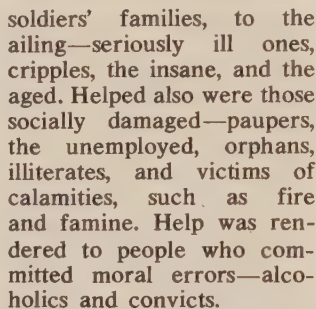
Those who would like to help in the restoration of the Church of St. Panteleimon the Great Martyr can send their contributions to: account No. 27000701081, the Primorskoye branch of the Lenbank. And add a special note: "Charitable action. To the parish council".

V. ANTONOV

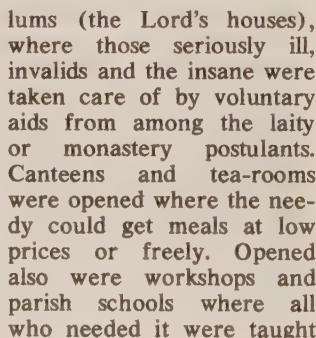
Money of Mercy

Meanwhile one needs not seek new forms of philanthropy or of offering mercy to the people who need it because in our Homeland this kind of activity has always been a major function of the Orthodox Church, excluding the period when the Church was almost completely suppressed by the state.

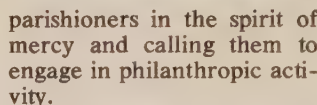
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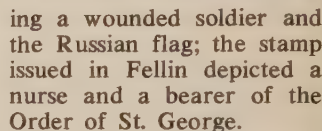
Established within the framework of philanthropic societies were hospitals, asy-



Financing of philanthropic activity was done through state subsidies, investments of public bodies and private donations. It is common knowledge that the Church too contributed lavishly to the establishment of hospitals, asylums and schools, and donated large sums to philanthropic organizations to be distributed among the needy. Besides she carried out extensive work educating



For instance, in Petrograd they issued a stamp "In support of the St. Eugenia Community", in Vladivostok—"For Wounded and Ailing Warriors and Recruits' Families" depicted on which were a nurse support-



To control and account for donations made by the Church to help the needy philanthropy paper money—coupons, receipts checks, credit stamps—were issued.

On agreement with the owners of shops, canteens and tea-rooms this substitute money was accepted in payment for goods, food-stuffs and services.

The "Alcohol Is Poison" stamps issued by the Annunciation Temperance Society signed by Archpriest P. Vozdvizhensky, head of the society, point to the direct participation of the Church in the philanthropic temperance movement.

Philanthropy paper money meant for distribution among the needy were often bought out by wealthy philanthropists.

Mention should be made of another kind of paper money issued by the Church.

In conditions of the deficit of money in circulation during World War I and post-revolutionary disloca-

tion the Church had to put out a number of credit papers for setting with the parishioners.

Moreover, Church institutions put out substitute money in metal 1-3 kopecks worth (for instance, the St.

Paul School in Odessa and the Sisterhood of the St. Aleksandr Nevsky Fraternity in Simferopol).

Ensured by church patronage, the philanthropy money substitutes for inner circulation turned out to be

a reliable currency under the conditions of financial chaos and social upheavals born by World War I and the Bolshevik revolution of 1917. They were willingly used by the population as real money in mutual deals

and taken in payments instead of the depreciated state currency not only within the framework of philanthropic institutions but outside it as well.

Ye. PYATKIN

Patriarchs of the Times of Troubles

This article is based on the report read by the author at the conference, devoted to the Festival of the Slavonic Written Language and Culture, which took place in Moscow on May 16, 1990. The article should have been published in the issue of the Moskovsky Tserkovny Vestnik, coming out on the eve of the election of the Patriarch by the Local Council of the Russian Orthodox Church on June 7, 1990. However, owing to circumstances beyond the control of the Publishing Department, the article was not published. We publish it today for we think that it has not lost its topicality.

Today the forces inside and especially around the Church, who try to impose on Her their opinion on how to rebuild and renovate church life have become very active. Too many articles lecturing, denouncing, instructing the Church have appeared recently, the authors of which do not understand that the Church lives according to laws quite different from secular ones, that She is governed neither by people, not by organizations, but by the Lord Almighty, Creator of heaven and the earth.

In October 1989 the Bishops' Council of the Russian Orthodox Church canonized two saints—Patriarch Iov, the first Russian Patriarch, and Patriarch Tikhon, first Patriarch after the two-centuries' interval in the Synodal governing. By the way, the press reacted to this event in a peculiar way. In the editorial to the third volume of the *Vestnik RKhD* (Paris) for 1989 Nikita Struve wrote: "It is a pity that together with Tikhon cautious authorities of the Russian Orthodox Church decided to canonize the first in succession, the humblest Patriarch Iov..., not very much remarkable in history and in the Church." The faithful in Russia can hardly share the grief of the chief editor of the *Vestnik* concerning the appearance of a new saint in the Russian Church. But what really grieves me is that even such a well-known publisher as Nikita Struve sees nothing but a political trick, where, as everywhere in the Holy Church, there is the manifestation of the Spirit of God and of the deepest normalities of the life of church society.

Our home press also published a number of articles, though quite benevolent, speaking of the great contribution of these hierarchs to the spiritual treasury of our Homeland, of their patriotic service, numerous merits, thanks to which, according to journalists, as well as on the occasion of the 400th anniversary

of the Patriarchism, the canonization took place. It was all rather moving but reminded very much of usual stereotypes and did not correspond to the church tradition at all.

The thing is that in the Orthodox Church canonization is not a form of incentive (even posthumous). It is not even a form of recognition of the services of church activists and even less so the attribute of pompous jubilees. Canonization is always, in the first place, a call for service.

Whenever saints were glorified, at a particular historical moment those of them were called who by their spiritual example or by feats of their lives in Christ could extend help to our earthly Militant Church from the Triumphant Church of heaven.

It has already been noted that the patriarchal services of Sts. Iov and Tikhon passed in times of troubles. It is then, when the state authorities became weaker and could no longer rule the Orthodox Power, that God set patriarchism in the land of Russia. However here the striking similarity of destinies of the two Holy Patriarchs does not end.

They both lived through civil wars. The intestine war unleashed by the enemies of Moscow and supported by traitors, adherents of Pseudo-Dimitry, and the Polish-Lithuanian invasion of 1606-1612 were aimed at abolishing Orthodoxy in our Homeland. The break out of the civil war and intervention in the 20th century coincided with the first days of service of St. Tikhon. This time the civil war was connected with an attempt to completely eliminate the communion of man with God, to exterminate the Orthodox faith.

Patriarchism, both initial and revived, was established in Rus by two tsars, whom the Russian Orthodox people considers as saints—Tsar Fyodor Ioannovich and Tsar-Martyr Nicholas II.

Tsar Fyodor Ioannovich was a marvellous man, a pure soul. He was a real saint on the throne. He never stopped thinking of God and praying, he was kind to everybody. Divine service was his life, and by the will of God the years of his reign were not darkened with conflicts and discord. They began after his demise. There can seldom be found a tsar whom the Russian people loved and sympathized with so much. He was thought to be a blessed man, a God's fool, was called a "saintly tsar" and after his demise his name was entered in the church calen-

dar of locally venerated saints. The people saw wisdom in him which came from the pure heart, the wisdom the poor in spirit are so rich with. Exactly in this way Tsar Fyodor was portrayed by A. Tolstoi in his tragedy. However a stranger saw this tsar differently. Foreign travellers, spies and diplomats (like Pirson, Fletcher) who have left their notes about Russia call him "quiet idiot" at best. And Leo Sapega, a Pole, stated that "it is wrong to say that this tsar has little reason, I am convinced that he is devoid of it completely."

The same misunderstanding on the part of people alien to the Orthodox spirit is characteristic of their attitude towards Tsar Nicholas II. We shall not recall here all the dirt that was spilled on him and his family. The people has always considered the tsar-martyr a saint and the first reaction to this fact became the canonization of the tsar family by the Russian Orthodox Church Outside Russia in 1981. Patriarch Iov wrote a magnificent *Povest o chestnom zhitii tsarya Fyodora Ioannovicha* (Tale of the Saintly Life of Tsar Fyodor Ioannovich). Patriarch Tikhon responded to the assassination of the tsar family with a sermon in which he exposed the real murderers.

Both patriarchs witnessed such fateful events in the Russian history as the end of great dynasties. In the days of Patriarch Iov tsar Fyodor Ioannovich, the last Rurik from the Kalita family passed away. In the days of Patriarch Tikhon the Romanov dynasty fell.

Both patriarchs witnessed the event of great importance for the moral life of the whole people—the assassination of an innocent tsarevich. On May 15, 1591, in the town of Uglich Tsarevich Dimitry was slaughtered. On the night of July 16, 1918, in Yekaterinburg Tsarevich Aleksy was killed.

Both patriarchs lived through the capture of Moscow when the invaders played master in the Kremlin. Patriarch Tikhon was enthroned to the thunder of artillery bombardment of the Kremlin. Under Patriarch Iov the Moscow sacred place was desecrated by Poles and Pseudo-Dimitry.

Church discord also made the ministry of both patriarchs more difficult.

They were both declared dethroned and new Priamates of the Church were elected instead of them. In 1606 Catholics who tried to impose the Unia on Russia and hierarchs who swore allegiance to Pseudo-Dimitry elevated to the Patriarchal See Pseudo-Patriarch Ignaty. (It is noteworthy that after his patron, pseudo-tsar, was overthrown Pseudo-Patriarch Ignaty escaped from Moscow and became a Uniate.) Patriarch Iov was beaten and exposed to shame in the Dormition Cathedral, his patriarchal vestments were torn off him. But in spite of all the threats he refused to swear to the usurper. The patriarch took off his panagia and put it before the Vladimir Icon of the Mother of God with the following words: "Our Lady Mother of God! It was here that the hierarchal panagia was entrusted to me and with it I followed the word of Thy Son and our God and for eighteen years

have been preserving the integrity of our faith. Now, as I see, because of our sins, the kingdom is in trouble, lies and heresy are triumphing. Save and strengthen Orthodoxy by prayers to Thy Son." Under Patriarch Tikhon the Church was shaken by the Obnovlentsy (Renovationists—*Tr.*) split. Like 300 years before many bishops fell away from the Church and attacked the patriarch with towering rage and lies. Some articles and sermons of Obnovlentsy hierarchs were preserved. Here is what Bishop Antonin (elevated to this dignity before the revolution) wrote: "Tikhon is a big puppet of a priest stuffed with magic, routine, witchcraft, hack-working and chervontsy (gold coins—*Tr.*). At each service he bakes smaller priest puppets who put on brocade robes, golden pots, drivel like gramophones, turn round and round, wave their hands..." Then follows abuse on the Sacrament of Eucharist.

While these "opuses" for the *Izvestia* newspaper were written His Holiness Patriarch Tikhon was under arrest and holy bishops-martyrs, who stayed loyal to Orthodoxy, were being subjected to cruel tortures and persecution.

On the eve of the times of troubles God not only strengthened Russia with patriarchism but granted her the great intercession of the Queen of Heaven. The Kazan Icon of the Mother of God appeared not long before the enthronization of His Holiness Patriarch Iov. And on March 2, 1917, the day of the abdication of Emperor Nicholas II, and several months before the election of Bishop Tikhon Patriarch, in the village of Kolomenskoye there was a miraculous invention of the icon of the Queen of Heaven "The Reigning". Both icons, as we know, are of great all-Church, all-Russian significance.

Both St. Iov and St. Tikhon anathemized the authorities scoffing at the Church, at the people, at the Russian land.

Both patriarchs were in prison: St. Iov—at the Staritsa Monastery, St. Tikhon—at the Moscow Monastery of the Don Icon of the Mother of God and in the inner prison in Lubyanka Street.

They both came across such phenomenon as imposture. The imposture of Pseudo-Dimitry is a well-known fact. The way he captured Russia and the way he ended are known, as well as betrayals of many Russian commanders who swore allegiance to Pseudo-Dimitry. It is difficult to imagine today the complex situation Patriarch Iov found himself in when almost all hierarchs tried to persuade him to swear to pseudo-tsar in the name of church peace, falsely understood by them, and for the sake of their own security. But the patriarch did not give up, even though sister Marfa, mother of the assassinated Tsarevich Dimitry, brought to Moscow for public recognition of the pseudo-tsarevich, recognized Pseudo-Dimitry for fear of the invaders. Patriarch Iov preferred persecution and exile to a lie.

The situation with pseudo-rulers repeated in the days of St. Tikhon. The patriarch saw clearly that the people, the whole country had chosen the wrong

targets. And he tried to resist until he saw another thing: the people and society would not turn off the chosen road! And, as it had happened many times before, the Church went to the abyss together with the people hoping at least at the edge of it to save and to give strength to those who would see and realize at last... This is both the mission of the Church and a great danger—the danger of inevitable compromises.

The success of the struggle with evil cannot be measured by any outer victory, but by the loyalty to the truth till the end. Patriarch Tikhon did not set his hopes upon any outer success. Such hope is not a Christian way of thinking. *...He that shall endure unto the end, the same shall be saved* (Mk. 13.13). Following the commandment of their holy patriarchs the Russian people has learned to be patient and, as we know from history, is being saved by the perfection of its patience and loyalty to the truth of Orthodoxy. This is the lot of Russia, this is the cross that was laid on us a thousand years ago.

Several words should be said about epistles of His Holiness Patriarch Tikhon. Like a prophetic, divine word, St. Tikhon's word is effective not only for the author's contemporaries but for the whole Church for all times as well. Here are only two small extracts:

"This terrible, wearisome night is still continuing in Rus and no joyous dawn can be seen here. Our Homeland is growing faint and exhausted and there is no doctor to heal her.

"The sin has corrupted our land, has weakened the spiritual and physical strength of the Russian people. It was because of sin that the Lord, according to the prophet, *doth take away from ...us...the stay and the staff, the whole stay of bread,...the mighty man, and the man of war, the judge and the prophet, and the prudent, and the ancient* (Is. 3.1-2)

"From the same poisonous spring of sin there arose the great temptation of perceptible earthly comforts, our people has become enticed with and has forgotten of things that pertain unto life" (1918).

"And all this devastation and shortcomings are because today the Russian State is being built without God. Have we ever heard from the mouths of our rulers the holy name of God in our numerous Soviets, Parliaments and Preparliaments? No, they rely only on their own efforts, they want to make themselves names unlike our pious forefathers who did not think of their own names but glorified the name of God. That is why the Almighty will laugh at our plans and destroy our Soviets. *The Lord is righteous; for... we...have rebelled against his commandment* (Lam. 1.18).

One more lofty mission of the Russian Patriarch was grieving for the people. Grieving for the church people before the authorities became the duty of the patriarch in the 16th century and was confirmed at the 1917 Council among other duties of the Primate of the Russian Church. Both patriarchs fulfilled this duty to the full being often subjected to persecution and imprisonment for this mission. But paternal love overcame everything. "For you, my tempted, poor Russian people my heart is burning with pity till my death," St. Tikhon said.

The fates of the two patriarchs are intersecting as well as the fates of their epochs and the fate of our time and of the contemporary Church, who by the will of the Spirit of God has called these two saints for service today. There are the following words in the rite of consecration: "The grace divine, which always health that which is infirm, and completeth that which is wanting..." When the earthly Church is wanting, when our infirmities go beyond the verge behind which people are unable to keep the Church in peace, God sends us saints whose service and prayers can help us. Such a time must have come today.

If by Divine Providence we are to undergo the same trials as Sts. Iov and Tikhon in their earthly lives, we know that we have heavenly patrons. *Remember them which have the rule over you, who have spoken unto you the word of God: whose faith follow, considering the end of their conversation* (Heb. 13.7).

And let them become silent who by their own judgment want to teach the great Russian flock how to find the ways to salvation. God will help His Church. And let them beware who possessing the earthly power try to rule over the two-thousand-year-old Church of Christ. *God is not mocked: for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap* (Gal. 6.7).

And let them who try to "renovate" the Church by splits and obnovlenchestvo remember what the Lord said: *he that gathereth not with me scattereth abroad* (Mt. 12.30). And we, Orthodox Christians, by Divine Providence know our heavenly patrons in the times of troubles—Sts. Iov and Tikhon, to whom our first prayer today is addressed. We ask the Lord to strengthen in spite of our sins the new Primate of the Russian Church in his prayer and grieving for the people so that, bearing the cross of his ministry to the Church, he could repeat after St. Tikhon: "From now on I am entrusted with care of all the Russian churches and I will be dying for them in all days."

GEORGY SHEVKUNOV

Orthodoxy in Byelorussia

(A Brief Historical Survey)

The history of the Orthodox Church in Byelorussia with its thousand years of labours and quests in the vineyard of Christ has not been painlessly smooth, *because strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life* (Mt. 7.14).

In reviewing the past of the Orthodox Church in Byelorussia one can clearly discern several periods. Conditionally, they can be defined as the Kievan (the late 10th-12th centuries), the Lithuanian (the 13th-16th centuries), the Polish (the 17th-18th centuries), the Russian (the late 18th-early 20th centuries) periods, and, finally, the Soviet period. On the whole, the periods coincide in time with the emergence and disappearance in Byelorussian lands of this or that state formation, and testify to substantial historical fluctuations in relationships between the Church and the state.

According to some chronicles, Christianity began to spread in Byelorussia at the close of the 10th century, and the spread is connected with the fact that circa 988 Orthodox Prince St. Vladimir, who had baptized Rus, transferred to the possession of his former wife Rogneda "her patrimony"—the Polotsk land; and founded for the princess the town of Izyaslavl, which still exists under the name of Zaslavl. When still in Kiev, Rogneda embraced Christianity with the name of Anastasia, becoming the first professor of Christ's faith on the lands of Polotsk Krivichi.¹ Her son Izyaslav also embraced Christianity, which is testified to by Nikon's chronicle, which characterizes Izyaslav as a prince of virtuous life: "This prince was mild and meek, calm and merciful; he liked and respected monk priests very much, had a respectful attitude to divine writings, being a sensitive and long-patient person who shunned vain mockery."²

Unfortunately, early Russian chronicles give no details about the baptism of people in the Polotsk and Turov lands and the events that accompanied it. It can be assumed that it was not a one-time act but one that lasted several decades. Like many other towns in Rus, Polotsk and Turov also became the centres of episcopal sees. Historians are practically unanimous about

the time of the establishment of episcopacy in Polotsk. Polish 18th-century historians, Stebelski and Niesiecki asserted that it was firmly established at the end of the 10th century.³ Their opinion was shared by Archbishop Makary, who pointed out: "It is clearly said at least about Novgorod, Rostov and Vladimir Volynsky that episcopal sees were established there. As for three other towns—Tmutorakan, Polotsk and Turov, this can also be assumed with probability..."⁴ To support his opinion, the famous church historian referred to the manuscript *Life* of St. Leonty of Rostov (16th century), which writes about the induction of a bishop in Polotsk as early as the time of St. Vladimir.⁵ A similar opinion was held by E. Golubinsky, who was considered to be a very biased researcher, often given to hypercriticism, and who, nevertheless, claimed that Polotsk was one of the cities "in which St. Vladimir might, in all probability, have opened a diocese".⁶ In his last monograph, a well-known specialist in the history of the Orthodox Church at the time of Kievan Rus, Ya. Shchapov, concludes: "As for the establishment of the episcopal see, the requisite political conditions for this existed already during the reign of Vladimir himself, when Polotsk was ruled by his son Izyaslav († 1001), or later, at the time of Vladimir's grandson Bryachislav († 1044)..."⁷ A somewhat different opinion on this score was held by Moscow archaeologist O. Rapov, who was also inclined to think that Christianity began to spread in Byelorussian lands during the reign of Prince Vladimir, but who attached primary importance in the process to Zaslavl rather than Polotsk. He held it was ancient Zaslavl that "became the first seat of Christianity in the Polotsk region".⁸

At the same time scholars repeatedly pointed to the fact that in early Russian chronicles the first Polotsk bishop, Mina, is mentioned only under the year 1105.⁹ On the other hand, however, *The Life* of St. Yevfrosinia of Polotsk contains information about earlier bishops in the city. Once, having blessed St. Yevfrosinia to live at the Church of the Transfiguration of the Saviour, Bishop Ilya, who succeeded Bishop Mina in the local see, said that buried in the church were

"our brethren bishops who were before us", thereby implying, Vladykas unknown to us.¹⁰

Judging by the fact that the Polotsk St. Sophia Cathedral was erected in the mid-11th century, during Prince Vseslav's reign (which is corroborated by *The Lay of Igor's Host*), and by its status was clearly intended for episcopal service, it can be asserted that the episcopal see existed in Polotsk as early as the first half of the 11th century and in all probability, was established at the time of St. Vladimir.

This point of view is shared by many pre-revolutionary and contemporary scholars. The institution of a bishopric in another Byelorussian town, Turov, is a more debatable issue. The manuscript collection, which in the 17th century belonged to Archimandrite Iosif (Trizna) of the Kiev-Pechery Monastery, says that the episcopal see in Turov was established in 1005.¹¹ Unfortunately, the early Russian manuscripts have no mention of this see over the subsequent one hundred years. The Ipatyevsky Chronicle mentions the Turov Diocese only under the year 1144.¹² Still, a literary monument of the end of the 12th century mentions bishops Simon and Ignaty, who headed the local see till 1144.¹³ Some authors supposed that the absence of any mention of the Turov Diocese in the chronicles over a whole century was probably due to a certain break in its existence. Established by St. Vladimir in the early 11th century, it could be abolished by him after the clash between the Kiev prince and his son Svyatopolk (the Damned), who plotted a conspiracy against Vladimir, in which Latin bishop, Reinbern, who had come to Turov as a father confessor of Svyatopolk's wife—a daughter of Polish King Boleslaw, could have been involved. If this was so, it cannot be excluded that during most of the 11th century Turov had no bishopric of its own, being directly subordinate to the metropolitan of Kiev.¹⁴

Compared with the 11th century, which was rather dark and mysterious, the beginning of the 12th century provided a much more abundant material on the history of the Orthodox Church in Byelorussia.

In spite of almost incessant wars between the Polotsk Principality and Kiev, which hampered normal relations between them, the 12th century witnessed an amazing flourishing of Christian culture in the lands of the Krivichi (Polotsk land) and Dregovich (Turov land) tribes, the flourishing which descendants remembered for many centuries. The cult of Sts. Boris and Gleb the Martyrs spread extremely rapidly and rather widely in the Polotsk and Turov principalities. The 12th century witnesses the emergence of cloisters and churches dedicated to the saintly brothers in the remotest corners of Byelorussia, on the outskirts of the cultural life of that time as it were. They were founded not only

in the major cities such as Polotsk and Turov, but also in smaller towns—Grodno, Novogrudok, etc.¹⁵ Symbolic depictions of Sts. Boris and Gleb became extremely widespread in iconography, minor objects d'art, frescoes, mosaics, and official paper seals. It is quite possible that Prince Vseslav of Polotsk named his sons in honour of the Kiev saints. To avoid crop failures, one of them, Boris, ordered to carve on huge boulders (pagan fetishes in the past) Christian inscriptions like, "O Lord, help Thy slave Boris". Vseslav's other son, Gleb, who possessed Minsk, maintained close contacts with the Kiev-Pechery Monastery, donated gold and silver grivnas for the construction of a refectory in it and it was not for nothing that he was remembered in Jerusalem itself during the voyage of Russian hegumen Daniil there, also in the 12th century.

In early Rus veneration of Sts. Boris and Gleb was of a truly spiritual character, which is testified to if only by the appearance of these saints to Martin the Blessed of Turov, through whose prayers and the intercession of the saints the monastery, where Martin performed his ascetic feat, was protected from a terrible flood.¹⁶

The veneration of Sts. Boris and Gleb, common to many East Slav tribes, speaks of the unity in the Russian land of the Orthodox Church which came out against princes' internecine wars and condemned cruel princes. The Church's unity in Rus is corroborated by the construction in Polotsk (just as in Kiev and Novgorod) of the cathedral church dedicated to St. Sophia, which points to a special role of the capital of the Polotsk Krivichi in the history of the Eastern Slavdom, and singles it out from among ancient Russian towns as an inhabited locality of primary significance.

In the 12th century, the first locally revered saints appeared in Byelorussia, who were soon canonized by the Orthodox Church: St. Kirill in Turov, St. Yevfrosinia in Polotsk, and St. Avraamy (13th cent.) in nearby Smolensk.

Among them Bishop Kirill of Turov is to be specially noted. Before heading the episcopal see, he lived in complete seclusion for many years, and only after he had gone through a series of temptations and become stronger spiritually, was he elected Vladyka. He penned eight solemn "Orations" devoted to the Twelve Great Feasts and Sundays of the paschal cycle, as well as 30 prayers and a "Parable of the Soul and the Body".

At that time scholastics was developing in West European theology as its main trend, while in Russia there appeared the first, very bright sprouts of an inspired contemplative-allegorical theology, and Bishop Kirill of Turov was its most worthy exponent in early Russian literature. His descendants referred to him as "Chrysostom who shone forth to us more than anyone else in Rus".¹⁷

One of his contemporaries was St. Yevfrosinia of Polotsk, who, to quote her *Life*, "enlightened the Polotsk land like a sun ray" and who won renown for her self-denying activity in the field of Christian enlightenment, mercy and charity.¹⁸ Born in a princely family, she was professed when still a young girl and devoted many years of life to copying ancient manuscripts. The construction in Polotsk of the famous Church of the Transfiguration of the Saviour, which has survived to this day and which, by the harmony of its proportions and inconspicuous beauty reminds one of the world-famous Church of the Protecting Veil on the Nerl, is associated with her name.

There is no doubt that the adoption of Christianity by the Polotsk and Turov principalities in the 11th-12th centuries bore abundant fruit. Two dioceses were established on the territory of Byelorussia, dozens of Orthodox churches were built, various arts connected with church life were widespread, and, finally, the first Byelorussian saints zealots of spirit, appeared, who were remarkable for the memory they left in history.

Unfortunately, already in the 13th century Rus began to break down into small, constantly quarrelling and even warring appanage principalities, which led to a decline in the upsurge of Christian culture in the Polotsk and Turov lands. The situation was exacerbated by the invasion of North-Eastern Rus by the Mongol-Tatars and the expansion of German knights in the Baltic region. In the 13th century Lithuanian tribes became rather active on the territory of Byelorussia. Together with Byelorussians' ancestors they formed the Great Lithuanian Principality. A new period began in the history of our people.

The path of Orthodoxy was anything but smooth and even in the Grand Lithuanian Principality. At any rate, the 13th and the 14th centuries were very dark and mysterious in that respect. We shall only point to one noteworthy circumstance. We can say by right that the 14th century went down in the history of Russian culture as a period of the flourishing of sublime sanctity associated with such great names as Sts. Sergy of Radonezh, Stefan of Perm, Andrei Rublev, Kirill of Beloye Ozero (Lake Beloye) and many other illustrious personalities who, by the feat of their lives, gained the grace of the Holy Spirit in their service to the Lord. New cloisters appeared in Muscovian Rus at that time in rapidly growing numbers. At the close of the 14th century, despite the Tatar-Mongol yoke, church stone architecture was revived in North-East Russia in renewed architectural traditions of the Kiev period. It was the time when Rus got translations of the Holy Fathers—Isaac Syrus, Maximus

the Confessor, Simeon the New Theologian and others, through which the powerful spiritual influence of the Byzantine hesychasm was conveyed. But there was nothing that could be compared to this, in terms of vividness of colours and impressions, in the Russian lands which formed part of the Great Lithuanian Principality.¹⁹

This does not mean, of course, that church life came to a standstill there. It went on, but did not register any notable achievements of spirit. The only exception, perhaps, was the construction of the Lavrishevsky Monastery on the bank of the Niemen in 1226 by St. Yelisei Lavrishevski, a Lithuanian prince, who embraced Christianity.²⁰ As for other Lithuanian princes: Mindaugas,²¹ Vytenis, Gediminas, these, as chronicles tell us, were heathens.

For all that, in the 13th-14th centuries the bishop of Polotsk played a very important role in the life of the Great Lithuanian Principality...

The year 1300 witnessed a notable event in the life of the Orthodox Church in Rus: because of the constant Tatar raids, the metropolitan see was transferred from the ravaged Kiev first to Vladimir on the Klyazma and then, in 1326, to Moscow. The last circumstance was obviously not to the liking of the Lithuanian princes who sometimes warred against Muscovian Rus and therefore feared a possible influence on their subjects by the metropolitan from the inimical state. In some years of the 14th century and in the first half of the 15th century Lithuanian princes succeeded in persuading Constantinople to induct a special metropolitan. This was, for instance, in the reign of Gediminas (1316-1341), when a metropolitan see was established in Novogrudok (which was formerly the capital city and which subsequently retained its significance) administered for a number of years by Pheophilus († 1330),²² a metropolitan of Greek origin.

The same thing was repeated during the reign of Prince Algirdas (1345-1377), who persuaded Constantinople to induct in Novogrudok Metropolitan Roman († 1362)²³, who did not depend on Moscow.

In spite of Lithuanian princes' sporadic efforts to isolate the Orthodox Church in Byelorussia from Moscow metropolitans, for a long time, they could not achieve the desired aim: to gain the right to become subordinate not to Moscow but directly to the Patriarch of Constantinople.

By the 14th century Christianity had become rather widespread in the principality, but most of the Lithuanian residents remained heathens. This is testified to by the martyrdom, in the mid-14th century, of three Lithuanians who embraced Orthodoxy: Nezhila, Krumiec and Kruglic.²⁴

They were executed on the insistence of pagan priests during the reign of Prince Algirdas. The martyrs were canonized by the Orthodox Church, which gave them the names: Antony, Ioann and Yevstafy. A church dedicated to the Holy Trinity was founded and consecrated on the site of their martyrdom, and some time later a monastery of the same name was built next to the church.

In subsequent years of Prince Algirdas's reign such cases were never repeated. As for Prince Algirdas, he was twice married to Russian princesses, the first time to Maria of Vitebsk, and the second—to Yuliania of Tver. Almost all of his fourteen children from these two marriages adopted Orthodoxy. Moreover, many of them became the founders and patrons of Orthodox churches in their state.²⁵ Among the Lithuanians, Algirdas's descendants turned to Orthodoxy more decisively than others. The situation changed only after the accession to the Polish throne of Jagiello, who was also Algirdas's son.

From the end of the 14th century, a part of the Lithuanian nobility, who, together with Jagiello, embraced Catholicism, began to infringe upon the rights of Orthodox believers. The Kreva Union of 1385²⁶ forbade marriages between Lithuanians of the Latin faith and Orthodox Byelorussians. Under the Horodlo Union of 1413, only Catholics were entitled to occupy high posts in the state and enjoy property privileges.²⁷ These novelties provoked a storm of indignation on the part of the Orthodox, led to an internecine war and were eventually cancelled.

After the conclusion of the Kreva Union in 1385 Lithuanian princes began to interfere more often and more persistently in the affairs of the Orthodox Church. In 1415 Prince Vytautas, who shared power with Jagiello, convened a bishops' council in Novogrudok and demanded that they should elect a metropolitan who would not depend on Moscow, without the blessing of the Patriarch of Constantinople. At that time Grigory (Tsamblak), a very talented Bulgarian theologian, was consecrated metropolitan. On instructions of Prince Vytautas, who wanted Orthodox Byelorussians to become subordinate to the Latins, Vladyka Grigory attended a Catholic Council in Constanta in 1418, but remained faithful to his Church. He died soon after his return home, and so Lithuania remained without its own metropolitan again.

Having sided with the Catholics, Prince Vytautas (1392-1430) and his successors on the throne, outwardly observed tolerance of religion but actually brought constant pressure to bear upon local bishops, urging them on to conclude a church union with Rome. This was done to overcome confessional differences in the principality which caused division in

the united state. For Catholic princes there was a real threat of separation of eastern Byelorussian lands from Lithuania and their joining Moscow.²⁸ To avert this danger the idea of a church union was conceived. Its implementation was facilitated by the political situation which developed at that time in the south-east of Europe. The Byzantine Empire was breathing its last, and to remedy the situation, in 1439 Emperor John Palaeologus and Patriarch Joseph of Constantinople ventured to conclude the Union of Florence which was soon rejected by the entire Orthodox world.²⁹

Among the hierarchs, who signed that shameful document, was Metropolitan Isidor, who headed the Church in Rus, but upon his return to Moscow was deposed and soon after fled to Rome. En route to Italy he did not find refuge in the Great Lithuanian Principality either, which, just as Muscovy Rus, temporarily remained without a metropolitan's care.

Several years passed before the Council of Russian Bishops elevated Bishop Iona of Ryazan to the metropolitan throne in Moscow. Since the Greeks had concluded the Union of Florence, the bishops did not ask for Constantinople's blessings; they held the Council independently, thus actually establishing autocephaly of the Orthodox Church in North-Eastern Rus.

Peace between the Moscow and the Lithuanian powers was conducive to the fact that by a special deed of 1451 the Polish King Casimir IV (1447-1492), who was also the Lithuanian Prince, allowed Metropolitan Iona to head Orthodox dioceses in his lands, with the exception of Galicia. That same year the newly-inducted metropolitan set off for a distant voyage, visiting a number of cities of the Great Lithuanian Principality: Kiev, Novogrudok, Vilna, appointed to these cities vicegerents dependent on him and enjoined them to keep an eye on the observance of church decisions, bring those who were at fault before the court and grant deeds to those who were worthy of being ordained.³⁰ For eight years Vladyka Iona was the sole metropolitan in Rus, common for both Moscow and Lithuania.

The situation changed, however, in 1458, when, as a result of deterioration of political relations with Moscow, Lithuanian Prince Casimir deprived Metropolitan Iona of the right to give spiritual guidance to western Russian dioceses and replaced him by Uniate Metropolitan Grigory, a Bulgarian sent from Rome. Grigory found no support from the Orthodox flock of Byelorussia and the Ukraine. Ten years after he unlawfully came to head the metropolitan see, he officially quitted the Union and went under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople.

The lands ruled by Lithuanian princes became

outside the authority of Moscow metropolitans for many centuries. Severe trials fell to the lot of the Orthodox Church of the Great Lithuanian Principality. Separated from the neighbouring, stronger metropolitanate, she could no longer develop independently and fell under an extremely pernicious Catholic influence.

In 1481, Casimir IV issued an ukase banning the construction of new and renovation of old, dilapidated Orthodox churches in Lithuanian lands and in the adjoining possessions of Byelorussian feudals.³¹

Throughout the 16th century, outwardly and in words, Polish kings maintained tolerance, but, in fact, not infrequently exerted a flagrant, impermissible pressure on the Church. This was particularly manifest in their abuse of the right of patronage, i. e., guardianship over the Church: for instance, in granting church posts to Orthodox magnates and noblemen for military or civil services and sometimes simply for money. This was done to weaken and undermine the Orthodox Church in Byelorussia from within. As A. Kartashev wrote, "...such distorted patronage right undermined the foundations of the normal church system, humiliated and corrupted spiritual forces of the clergy and laymen".³²

It must be said that a considerable success was achieved in this respect. "Even the cloisters, which in Rus had always been centres of enlightenment, were also in a state of desolation in Lithuania with the exception of two or three cloisters (in Suprasl and Vilnius: of the Holy Trinity and of the Holy Spirit)".³³ Metropolitan Joseph Soltan, who convened the Vilnius Council in 1509, made an attempt to prevent the fall of morals among the clergy. The decisions adopted at that Council somewhat improved the situation, but on the whole, fell short of changing it radically.

Oppressing the Orthodox, Lithuanian princes (who were also Polish kings) sometimes, especially when the political situation within the country and on its eastern borders changed not in their favour, granted various privileges to their Orthodox subjects. This was the case during the reign of Casimir IV and his successor Alexander (1492-1506), Zygmund August (1548-1572). Still, the Lithuanian princes' attitude to the Orthodox Church in Byelorussia was on the whole characterized by malevolence and striving to weaken it. In the middle of the past century, N. Kostomarov wrote to this effect: "What do those privileges mean? Why were they granted by all kings? Wasn't it enough to grant only one and for ever? They were granted because nobody made use of them, because after granting the privileges the faith was oppressed and persecuted as before..."³⁴

Despite the fact that the Orthodox were more discriminated against in terms of rights than Catholics, who enjoyed the patronage of the authorities, Orthodoxy definitely prevailed in the principality in the 16th century. Old Byelorussian remained the official language. In many towns, including Novogrudok, Brest, Minsk and Vilnius, Orthodox churches were obviously in the majority. Unfortunately, this was only a numerical superiority.

The greatest trials fell to the lot of Orthodoxy in the Great Lithuanian Principality after this state had been joined to Poland (1569) and, particularly, after the adoption of the Brest Union in 1596.³⁵ Until then the Orthodox Church had not been subjected to undisguised massive persecutions, whereas at the end of the 16th century the attitude of the authorities of the newly-formed Rzeczpospolita became much tougher, acquiring a militant, ruthless character.

The intensified expansion of Catholicism provoked a protective reaction on the part of the Orthodox, the most graphic manifestation of which became the brotherhoods organized in the 1580s by the population of Byelorussian towns. The largest of them was formed in Vilnius. Some brotherhoods were given the right to stauropegia, i. e., direct subordination to the Patriarch of Constantinople, which put an end to the selfish tutelage of some bishops, who were secretly preparing to betray Orthodoxy, adopting a union with the Catholics.

The idea of a church union was most thoroughly elaborated and considered by the Jesuits invited to Lithuania in 1569. Accepted by Orthodox hierarchs—Metropolitan Mikhail Rogoza, bishops Ipaty Potei and Kirill Terlecki, it originally won very few supporters among the people of the "Greek faith" and after the approval by the Pope of Rome was brought for discussion at the Brest Church Council. The bishops and their supporters, who had betrayed Orthodoxy, were taken by King Sigismund III Vasa (1587-1632) under his personal protection. At the Brest Council the newly-converted Uniates disregarded canonical rules and, without asking the opinion of the Patriarch of Constantinople or their flock, announced the joining of the Orthodox Church of Rzeczpospolita to the Uniates.

The clergymen, Byelorussian magnates and noblemen, who remained loyal to Orthodoxy, convened, simultaneously with the Brest Uniate Council, their own Orthodox Council which excommunicated from the Church and defrocked the apostates of the Holy Fathers' faith.

Thus, through the fault of the Uniates and those who stood behind them, Byelorussia, which until then had not known mass religious conflicts, became a seat of mutual animosity, which resulted in thousands of innocent

victims, and which divided the people into two opposing camps.

The hierarchs, who betrayed their people, prepared the Union on the sly, without asking the opinion of their flock or prominent Orthodox magnates. This provoked natural indignation not only among the people, but also among some feudals. Noteworthy in this respect is a letter which prominent Orthodox magnate Konstantin Ostrozshski sent to Bishop Ipaty Potei, who betrayed the Church, shortly before the proclamation of the Union: "...The union of Churches is a good and desirable act in itself... It concerns the Ecumenical Church as a whole. First of all, the patriarchs and patriarchal Churches should be gotten in touch with... The whole thing should have been done purely and saintly so that the union of the Churches could be a true union of faith and love, keeping the Orthodox doctrine of the Ecumenical Church intact."³⁶

After the Brest Council till 1632 the Orthodox Church in Rzeczpospolita was officially outlawed. Hundreds of churches were handed over to the Uniates, the Orthodox priests who opposed the Union, were banished from their parishes, ancient cloisters were mercilessly ruined and devastated. Prince K. Ostrozshski, Novogrudok voevode F. Skumyn-Tyszkiewicz, Prince Lev Oginski and other representatives of magnate families stood up in defence of the Holy Fathers' faith. But the forces were too unequal.

In 1599 Vilnius was the venue of a joint congress, (held together with the Protestants who were also persecuted) whose aim was to combine efforts in opposing the onslaught of Latinism. The congress, which ended in failure, pointed out that lawlessness and arbitrary rule held sway in Rzeczpospolita.

The following figures throw light on the process of the destruction of Orthodoxy in Rzeczpospolita: in the late 16th century there were 14 Orthodox churches or so in Vilnius, and only one had remained by the 1630s; of the twelve Minsk churches also only one remained; only one Orthodox church out of ten survived in Novogrudok and so on... The situation was similar in many Byelorussian towns.

Town-dwellers, organized in brotherhoods, could resist this process, whereas serf peasants, lacking civil rights, could not do this, and therefore, after their landlords had adopted Latinism, were forced to join the Uniates.

Left without church hierarchs, the Byelorussian population found itself in a very difficult position, because there was practically no people who could ordain priests and other clergymen. It was only in 1620 that, travelling via Kiev, Patriarch Theophanes of Jerusalem, re-established

the Orthodox hierarchy in Rzeczpospolita on the insistence of Kiev Cossacks, consecrating Iov Boretsky as Metropolitan of Kiev, Melety Smotrisky who nine years later betrayed the Church, as Bishop of Polotsk, and inducted Greek Avraamius to the Turov-Pinsk See. Because of persecutions, Orthodox bishops were forced to lead a semi-legal life, hiding from the authorities at times.

In 1633, King Sigismund III was succeeded by Wladyslaw IV (1633-1648), who was more tolerant than his father. Realizing the senselessness of a further intensification of hatred for the Orthodox, he sought to settle the inordinately expanded conflict, and that same year adopted the so-called "Articles for Soothing the Russian People of the Greek Faith", in which he promised to guarantee the Orthodox Church against oppression. But it was too late to change the situation substantially. The Uniates and the Catholics had already forcibly seized many churches and cloisters that formerly belonged to the Orthodox. As a result, the "Articles" of Wladyslaw IV did little to ease the inter-confessional differences.

The bishops, inducted in 1620 to Polotsk and Turov, did not stay long there. It was only in Moghilev that an episcopal see remained for several centuries. In the 17th-18th centuries this city was the centre of the Orthodox Church in Byelorussia.

The Orthodox people's defeat in the confrontation with the Uniates can partially be attributed to a very rapid adoption of Catholicism by Byelorussian nobility which ensured considerable privileges to the descendants of those Byelorussian magnates who had formerly supported the Orthodox Church.

The most stiff resistance to the Union was offered by the Orthodox brotherhoods, which were grouped in Byelorussia around the Vilnius Monastery of the Holy Spirit. They were engaged in literary polemics with the Uniates, opened printing houses and schools, printed books. The most notable figures in those brotherhoods were Stefan Zizany, who, with courage and talent, exposed apostates in his sermons; his brother Lavrenty Zizany, the author of "Catechism"; Leonty Karpovich, Father Superior of the Monastery of the Holy Spirit, who was also a very passionate preacher; Pamva Berinda, who compiled the "Slavonic-Russian Lexicon" for a better understanding of Church Slavonic. Unfortunately, the activity of the Orthodox brotherhoods, whose rights were being increasingly infringed upon, came to a standstill in the second half of the 17th century.

The 17th century went in the history of Byelorussia as the time of the life of the holy martyrs who suffered for Christ's faith, for a firm, fearless confession of Orthodoxy even

in the face of death: St. Afanasy Filipovich, Hegumen of Brest (murdered in 1648); St. Makary, Hegumen of Pinsk (murdered in 1678); infant-martyr Gavriil of Bialystok (murdered in 1690).

The laws adopted by the Sejms of Rzeczpospolita in the late 17th and in the 18th centuries, which specified the legal (or, rather, rightless) status of the Orthodox residents of the state testify to the fact that in Byelorussian lands persecutions against the Orthodox Church continued till they became incorporated in Russia. In 1688, the Polish General Confederation, which came to power in the period of interregnum, resolved: those who leave Catholicism or Uniatism and embrace another faith (i. e., Orthodoxy, in the first place) are to be banished from the territory.³⁷

In 1676 the Polish Sejm passed a law, categorically forbidding Orthodox brotherhoods to maintain any relations with the Patriarch of Constantinople, thus actually depriving them of the right to stauropegia.

Under the threat of capital punishment the Sejm did not allow the Orthodox to leave abroad and to return without special permission.³⁸ In 1699 a law was enacted, forbidding the Orthodox to occupy any posts in municipal self-government bodies.³⁹

In 1732 an official ban was imposed on public manifestation of the Orthodox faith (churches were not allowed to ring the bells, and the dead were to be buried only at night). The Orthodox residents of Rzeczpospolita were deprived of the right to be elected to the Sejm and tribunals (regional courts of justice).⁴⁰ Finally, in 1764 the Sejm passed a decision to put to death those who would leave Catholicism and embrace Orthodoxy and to register Orthodox priests' sons as serfs if they fail to choose an occupation other than priesthood before they turn fifteen.⁴¹

These laws were zealously implemented in localities. Small wonder that by the end of the 18th century the Orthodox Church in Byelorussia had fallen into complete decay. In 1772 even in the eastern regions of Byelorussia only 300,000 Byelorussians out of the total of 1,200,000 remained faithful to Orthodoxy. The rest joined the Uniates (800,000) or embraced Catholicism (100,000).⁴²

A large part of the Byelorussians were Uniates. As for the magnates and nobility of Rzeczpospolita, these adhered to Catholicism. The noblemen regarded a Byelorussian Uniate as an inferior person, and the Polish Catholic clergy complained that masses of people had "gotten stuck" in Uniatism, refusing to embrace the perfect Latinism. The only exception in this respect were the Uniate Basilian monks who did not differ much from the Catholics towards

the end of the 18th century. Basilian cloisters, scattered all over Byelorussia, were the main vehicles of the policy of polonization of the local population, i. e., of making the Uniates embrace Latinism. Many of these cloisters were quite well-off, whereas Uniate parish churches dragged out a miserable existence. On the whole the educational level of the civil clergy was depressingly low. Uniate Metropolitan Lev Kishka (1714-1728) noted grievously on this score: "It is with great pain in the heart... that I learned that hardly one of a hundred priests knows Slavonic and understands what he reads during divine service."⁴³ During the two-century existence within Rzeczpospolita the Byelorussian Uniates failed to produce an ecclesiastical intelligentsia⁴⁴ that would help to introduce at least a formal uniformity and order in their liturgical practice⁴⁵ and occasionally protect the flock in the highest sections of society. This had a fatal effect on the destiny of the Union...

Following the division of Rzeczpospolita in the late 18th century and the incorporation of the Byelorussian lands in the Russian Empire, the two-century-long persecution of the Orthodox finally ceased. As could be expected, there began a certain outflow of the Uniates, who, for the most part, resided in eastern regions of Byelorussia, from the faith imposed on them in the past to Orthodoxy. This was not a massive process: only some 80,000 Byelorussians returned to the bosom of the Orthodox Church before the accession to the throne of Pavel I (1796-1801)⁴⁶. In the Ukraine the corresponding figure was approximately fifteen times as great. The process of the adoption of Orthodoxy by the Uniates was rather calm, largely due to the efforts and zeal of the first archbishop of Minsk, Viktor Sadkovsky (1793-1796). It could have been even more successful had it not been for the Polish landlords who owned the overwhelming majority of the serfs in Byelorussia and who prevented the process.

This process of the Uniates' joining the Orthodox, started in 1794, was unexpectedly wrecked when Pavel I ascended the throne. Seeking to pursue a policy opposite to that of Catherine the Great in every sphere, he gave his royal protection to the Catholics. His sympathies for them can partially be attributed to his being a magister of the Order of the Hospital of Malta. Pavel I allowed the Uniates to be placed under the jurisdiction of the Latins, registering them with the department of the Roman Catholic collegium set up at the Holy Synod. As A. Sapunov aptly put it, "Poland could never achieve such an important step"⁴⁷ (to place the Uniate Church under the authority of Latin hierarchs.—

Auth.). This ill-conceived step had bitter consequences.

Taking advantage of the emperor's benevolence and having actually become "administrators" of the Uniates, the Catholics, supported by the Polish nobility, launched a large-scale propaganda campaign among the population in the early 19th century and managed to make scores of thousands of the Byelorussians, who still adhered to the Uniates, embrace Latinism.

Alexander I (1801-1823) freed the Uniates from the oppressive tutelage of the Roman Catholic Collegium of the Holy Synod. In the Uniates' midst a trend took shape under the guidance of Archbishop Irakly Lisovsky (1784-1809) to oppose Latinists and to defend what remained of the Eastern rite of the Uniate Church and the Slavonic language of her divine service. Better than anyone else Irakly understood the true aims pursued by the Catholics. "I know quite well," he wrote, "that Romans harbour evil intentions against us, their constant persecutions of the Uniates have one aim—to enslave us."⁴⁸

It was only in the late 1820s that the Russian government ventured to resume the process of the revival of Orthodoxy in Byelorussian lands. This time it was more complex, since the people had lost faith in the consistency and immutability of the policy pursued. This, final, reunion of the Uniates with the Orthodox was free from mass clashes on the grounds of religious animosity, although the rapprochement between the Orthodox and the Uniates was painful in many places. There were parishes which joined the Orthodox without any enthusiasm. However, in Byelorussia these contradictions did not develop into fratricidal rivalry. The only measure the tsar's government resorted to against the priests who refused to adapt Orthodoxy was their deportation to internal regions of Russia.

In 1834, a meeting of Uniate hierarchs, held in St. Petersburg, adopted a decision on a gradual elimination from the liturgical practice of Uniate churches of Latin elements which had been vigorously implanted in it after the Zamosc Council.⁴⁹ Iconostases began to be reinstalled in churches, bells and organs (if there were such) were removed, priests were returned their former vestments, and Orthodox literature was introduced in divine services.

When most of the Uniate clergymen and laymen became morally prepared to the adoption of Orthodoxy, a Uniate council, the last to be convened in Byelorussia, opened in Polotsk on February 12, 1839. At this council the bishops and priests, who had formerly been Uniates, adopted an Act declaring their reunion with the Orthodox Church. The Act was signed

by 1,305 clergymen⁵⁰, including Bishop Iosif Semashko (1833-1868) of Lithuania, Bishop Vasily Luzhinsky (1839-1866) of Orsha, Bishop Antony Zubko (1834-1848) of Brest, i. e., all hierarchs of the former Uniate Church. The ordinary people followed in the footsteps of their pastors. Prior to the reunion, there were some 270 Orthodox churches in the Minsk Diocese, whereas a year later, in 1840, their number increased to 600⁵¹. A similar trend was observed throughout Byelorussia.

After the Uniates' reunion the life of the Orthodox Church gradually began to come to normal. Hundreds of churches were returned to the Orthodox. The 1860s-1870s witnessed an intensive church construction. During this time upwards of 4,000 churches were repaired and otherwise improved, and provided with necessary utensils...⁵²

In the early 20th century there were four Orthodox dioceses on the territory of Byelorussia: the Minsk, Grodno, Polotsk and Moghilev. According to Archbishop Afanasy's data based on pre-revolutionary statistics, there were a total of 3,552 churches, 470 chapels, 35 cloisters and three theological seminaries functioning in Byelorussia before World War I.⁵³

The 1917 Revolution and the Civil War brought with them new severe trials which can be compared only with those experienced in the 17th-18th centuries. During those terrible years the Church suffered irreparable human and material losses.

Under the Riga Treaty of 1921 Byelorussia was divided between Poland and Soviet Russia. Bishop Melkhisedek (soon raised to the dignity of metropolitan), who won affection and respect of all worshippers, headed the Byelorussian Orthodox Metropolitanate on the territory which became part of the USSR. It fell to his lot to administer the Church in a most difficult period. Very soon, in 1923 to be more exact, Vladyka Melkhisedek was brought before the court for an alleged concealment of church valuables. Failing to prove his guilt, the court had to exonerate the metropolitan. A year and a half later he was summoned to Moscow, arrested there and exiled to Krasnoyarsk. In 1927, after Vladyka Melkhisedek had signed a declaration on the recognition of Metropolitan Sergy Stragorodsky, he headed the Krasnoyarsk see. He served for four years there, and died of a heart attack...

After Vladyka Melkhisedek's arrest the Church in Byelorussia became beheaded. The only surviving Minsk Diocese was administered by vicar bishops: Ioann Pashin of Mozyr, who died in a concentration camp in 1927; Filaret Ramensky of Bobruisk, who died in prison in 1939; Nikolai Shemetillo of Slutsk, who died in prison in 1931. Practically all Orthodox

priests and bishops of Soviet Byelorussia met their death in prisons and prison camps.⁵⁴

In the 1920s, the Russian Orthodox Church, weakened, plundered and slandered against as she was, was afflicted by the ferment of the Obnovlentsy (Renovationists) and champions of the so-called Living Church, which spelled a painful split of her organism. The posts of arrested bishops and priests were occupied by Obnovlentsy who enjoyed freedom and were not harrassed by the Soviet authorities. Bigamist and trigamist priests appeared in parishes. These did not enjoy worshippers' respect, who regarded them as agents of the Soviet government. They were pastors without the flock. It was not long before they disappeared from the church scene: some of them were arrested by the authorities and exiled, while others disavowed their priesthood and found civil situations. They were the last destroyers of the Orthodox church life in Byelorussia.⁵⁵

The Orthodox Church in Western Byelorussia was also in great straits. Although the number of surviving churches was much greater there, it, nevertheless, considerably decreased, compared with 1914. In the 1930s nearly 500 churches functioned in three Orthodox dioceses of Western Byelorussia (Vilnius, Grodno and Polesye)—50 per cent less than in 1914.⁵⁶

The beginning of the Great Patriotic War and the retreat of the Red Army brought with them a certain revival of church life destroyed in the previous decades. At first the occupation authorities did not raise any obstacles in this process, hoping to win sympathies of the local population. "There were priests who concealed their priesthood for many years for fear of persecution. The Germans issued certificates to them, authorizing them to conduct divine services without hindrance... Worshippers welcomed these priests affectionately, repaired their half-destroyed churches... decorated them with icons, brought religious and liturgical books and articles... Divine services began to be held in churches filled by worshippers to overflowing. There were very few priests. It was a second baptism of Rus, a sort of a new revival of the Orthodox faith in Eastern Byelorussia."⁵⁷

The Church Council, held in Minsk on August 30-September 2, 1942, elected Archbishop Filofei Narko as the head of the Orthodox Church in Byelorussia. The Council was convened under the pressure of the occupation authorities, who insisted on the separation of the Orthodox Church of Byelorussia from the Moscow Patriarchate. Its delegates proclaimed autocephaly of their Church, which was an anticanonical act. They were forced to do this, rebelling against this step deep in their souls.

During the Great Patriotic War hundreds of closed down churches reopened their doors

on the territory of Byelorussia. In 1945, after the liberation of Byelorussia from the Nazi occupation, 1,044 Orthodox churches functioned in the republic. These included 136 churches (against 55 in 1938) in Minsk Region, 78 (6 in 1938) in Gomel Region, 57 (in 1938 there were none) in Moghilev Region, 30 (16 in 1938) in Vitebsk Region, 184 in Grodno Region, 214 in Molodechno and 351 in Brest regions.⁵⁸ Most of the Orthodox churches of Byelorussia were located in its western region which became part of the USSR two years before the war and therefore suffered less from the atheistic terror.

As before, in the post-war years the Church, deprived of all rights, was under a constant pressure of the atheistic state. The beginning of the so-called Khrushchov thaw involved fresh unwarranted persecutions of worshippers. The campaign of forcible closures of churches, launched on a nation-wide scale, was particularly harmful in Byelorussia. In 1960-1961, the Orthodox Church in Byelorussia was deprived of 237 churches, 171 of which were planned to be pulled down. As a result of the destructive campaign, only 439 functioning churches remained in Byelorussia in 1964.⁵⁹ Subsequently their number decreased by several more dozens...

It is only a few years ago that relations between the Church and the state began to assume a different, more benevolent nature. This is testified to by statistics: today there are upwards of 730 functioning churches in Byelorussia, against 369 in 1988. It is also gratifying to note that on January 31, 1990, the Orthodox Church of Byelorussia was granted the rights of Exarchate.

It is difficult to say what the present-day changes in relations between the Church and the state will result in. Our time is inscrutable and all but unpredictable. But behind us is our history, our saints. Let us remain faithful to them. Doesn't the earnestness of our rebirth lie in this?

NOTES AND SOURCE MATERIAL

1. The fact that Rogneda settled in Izyaslavl is mentioned in the Lavrentyevskaya Chronicle (the late 14th century), and that of her baptism is mentioned in the Tver and Gustyn chronicles (16th early 17th centuries).
2. *Polnoye sobraniye russkikh letopisei* (Collected Russian Chronicles). St. Petersburg, 1862, Vol. 9, p. 68.
3. Stebelski. *Dwa wielkie swiata na hokironcie Polockima*. Niesiecki. *Kronika Polska. Metropolia Ruska*. T. 1, s. 89, 92.
4. Archbishop Makary. *Istoria Russkoi Tserkvi* (A History of the Russian Church). St. Petersburg, 1868, Vol. 1, p. 40.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 41.
6. Ye. Golubinsky. *Istoriya Russkoi Tserkvi* (A History of the Russian Church). Moscow, 1901, Vol. 1, p. 334.
7. Ya. Shapov. *Gosudarstvo i tserkov Drevnei Rusi* (The State and the Church in Early Rus). Moscow, 1989, p. 39.

8. O. Rapov. *Russkaya tserkov v IX-pervoi treti XII veka* (The Russian Church in the 9th-the First Third of the 12th Centuries), Moscow, 1988, p. 376.

9. *Povest vremennykh let* (The Tale of Bygone Times), Moscow; Leningrad, 1950, Vol. 1, p. 185.

10. A. Sapunov. *Zhitiye Prepodobnoi Yevfrosinii Polotskoi* (The Life of St. Yefrosinia of Polotsk), Vitebsk, 1888, p.

11. P. Batyushkov. *Byelorussia i Litva* (Byelorussia and Lithuania), St. Petersburg, 1890, pp. 16-17.

12. Collected Russian Chronicles. Moscow, 1962, Vol. 2, p. 314.

13. *Pamyatniki drevnerusskoi literatury* (Monuments of Early Russian Literature). Petrograd, 1916, 2nd instalment, p. 199.

14. P. Batyushkov. *Op. cit.*, p. 17.

15. One of the earliest Orthodox cloisters on the territory of Byelorussia was founded in Polotsk in the 12th century. Actually dedicated to Sts. Boris and Gleb, it had four stone churches, two of which were destroyed in the 1920s. The town of Turov also had a cloister of the same name. The Sts. Boris and Gleb Church built in Novogrudok in the 12th century has survived to this day in a reconstructed form. The church on the Kolozha (Grodno) is world famous.

16. *Pamyatniki drevnerusskoi literatury* (Monuments of Early Russian Literature). Petrograd, 1916, 2nd instalment.

17. I. Yeryomin. *Lektsii i statyi po istorii drevnerusskoi literatury* (Lectures and Articles on the History of Early Russian Literature). Leningrad, 1987, p. 234.

18. A. Sapunov. *Op. cit.*, p.

19. In this respect of considerable interest is the observation made by M. Speransky, who pointed out that, in contrast to North-Eastern Rus, the hagiographic genre did not register any substantial development in Byelorussia in the 14th-the 15th centuries: not a single original *Life* was written that would testify to an appreciable spiritual activity of local clergymen. M. Speransky. *Serbskoye Zhitie Litovskikh muchenikov* (Serbian Life of Lithuanian Martyrs). Moscow, 1909.

20. Archimandrite Nikolai. *Istoriko-statisticheskoye opisanie Minskoi yeparkhii* (Historico-Statistical Description of the Minsk Diocese), 1864, pp. 129-136.

21. For purely political considerations Lithuanian Prince Mindaugas embraced now Orthodoxy, now Catholicism, remaining actually a heathen, performing "pagan" rites and patronizing his tribesmen who rejected Christianity.

22. Ye. Golubinsky. *Op. cit.*, Vol. 2, pp. 128-129.

23. T. Barsov. *Konstantinopolsky Patriarkhat i ego vlast nad Russkoi Tserkovyu* (The Constantinople Patriarchate and Its Authority Over the Russian Church). St. Petersburg, 1878, p. 394.

24. Their names, purely Slav, rather than Lithuanian, sound somewhat ambiguous. It is possible that they were not ethnic Lithuanians.

25. P. Batyushkov. *Op. cit.*, pp. 78-79.

26. The Krew Union of 1385 was an agreement on political alliance concluded between Poland and the Great Lithuanian Principality, under which Jagiello became the King of Poland, and both states undertook to help each other in the struggle against the intensified aggression of the Crusaders.

27. The Horodlo Union of 1413 reaffirmed the political alliance between Poland and the Great Principality. It provided for Lithuania's independence from the friendly neighbour.

28. In 1482 a plot of Byelorussian feudals was hatched in the Great Lithuanian Principality; it was headed by Prince Mikhail Olekovich of Slutsk. The conspirators intended to dethrone Casimir IV or place their lands under Moscow's jurisdiction. The plot was discovered and ended in failure.

29. In accordance with the 1439 Union of Florence the Orthodox population of the Greek East and Rus was to recognize the Pope of Rome as a deputy of our Lord Jesus Christ and to introduce a number of changes in the Church's dogmata to the detriment of Orthodoxy, namely: an addition to the Creed to the effect that

the Holy Ghost proceeds not only from God the Father but also "from the Son" (Filioque), the doctrine of the purgatory, the conception that the Sacrament of the Eucharist is equally effective on both unleavened and kvas bread.

30. M. Tolstoi. *Rasskazy iz istorii Russkoi Tserkvi* (Tales from the History of the Russian Church). Moscow, 1887, Book 3, p. 223.

31. V. Vasilyevsky. *Istoriya goroda Vilny* (History of the City of Vilnius). St. Petersburg, 1864, p. 23.

32. A. Kartashev. *Ocherki po istorii Russkoi Tserkvi* (Essays on the History of the Russian Church). Paris, 1959, Vol. 1, p. 541.

33. Ye. Karsky. *Byelorussy* (Byelorussians). Vilnius, 1904, Vol. 1, p. 141.

34. N. Kostomarov. *O prichinakh i kharaktere unii v Zapadnoi Rossii* (On Reasons for and the Character of the Union in Western Russia). Kharkov, 1842, p. 48.

35. The Brest Church Union of 1596 directed the Orthodox to adopt the Catholic dogmata, while retaining the ritual aspect of divine service.

36. I. Malyshevsky. *Zapadnaya Rus v borbe za veru i narodnost* (Western Rus in the Struggle for Faith and National Entity). St. Petersburg, 1897, p. 194.

37. P. Batyushkov. *Op. cit.*, p. 276.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 276.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 276.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 278.

41. *Ibid.*, pp. 278-279. All the above-mentioned laws were also published in *Sbornik dokumentov, uyasnyayushchikh otnosheniya latino-polskoi propagandy k russkoi vere i narodnosti* (Collection of Documents Clarifying the Attitude of the Latin-Polish Propaganda Towards the Russian Faith and Entity). Vilnius, 1865, 1st instalment.

42. *Uniya* (Union). Mensk, 1990, No. 1, p. 13.

43. I. Chistovich. *Ocherk istorii zapadno-russkoi Tserkvi* (Essay on the History of the Western Russian Church). St. Petersburg, 1884, Part 2, p. 378.

44. Perhaps it was only M. Bobrovsky, a remarkable scholar, who taught at the Vilnius University in the 19th century, and his few associates.

45. It is interesting to know how Archbishop Irakly Lisovsky of Polotsk characterized the Uniate divine service in the early 19th century: "Every individual here adds or changes something [in divine service.—Auth.] at his own discretion. The people have even coined a proverb: a new priest means a new rite."

46. S. Runkevich. *Kratky istorichesky ocherk 100-letiya Minskoi yeparkhii*. (A Brief Historical Essay on the Centenary of the Minsk Diocese). Minsk, 1893, p. 36.

47. A. Sapunov. *Istoricheskiye sudby Polotskoi yeparkhii...* (Historical Destinies of the Polotsk Diocese). Vitebsk, 1888, p. 127.

48. P. Borovsky. *Russkaya greko-uniatskaya tserkov v tsarstvovanie Aleksandra I* (The Russian Graeco-Uniate Church During the Reign of Aleksandr I). St. Petersburg, 1890, p. 31.

49. After the Zamosc Council of 1720 the Uniate Church was subjected to a particularly intensive Latinization. "Filioque" was introduced in the Creed, the name of the Pope of Rome began to be lauded during divine services everywhere, the vestments of Uniate priests were changed to remind the Catholic ones, children were forbidden to receive Holy Sacrament, etc. I. Chistovich. *Op. cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 380.

50. Archbishop Afanasy. *Byelorussiya v istoricheskoi, gosudarstvennoi i tserkovnoi zhizni* (Byelorussia in Historical, State and Church Life). Buenos Aires, 1966, p. 225.

51. S. Runkevich. *Op. cit.*, p. 127.

52. P. Batyushkov. *Op. cit.*, p. 367.

53. Archbishop Afanasy. *Op. cit.*, p. 243.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 262.

55. *Ibid.*, p. 262.

56. *Ibid.*, p. 264.

57. *Ibid.*, p. 271.

58. Central State Archives of the Byelorussian SSR. Fund 951, File 3, Sheet 92.

59. Central State Archives. Fund 951, File 2, Sheet 25.

Petr Stolypin

In all times power has been a strong temptation inciting the weak souls to acquisition and corruption. But the strong souls who lean on faith are capable of making power a tool for pursuing good goals, and then *rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil* (Rom. 13.3). The Christian understanding of power was characteristic of Petr Stolypin who rose to the highest level in the Russian table of ranks.

"It would be a great mistake to see in the safeguarding of state against criminal endeavors the only task of state power, forgetting about the deeper causes which generate distortions"—this is how he formulated the role of state power, setting it the two tasks: "to safeguard order and take resolute measures to protect the population from revolutionary manifestations and at the same time to strain all the energies of state to follow the way of construction so that a stable order based on law and rightly understood freedom could be ensured again."¹

Stolypin received a hard legacy from his predecessors in the office of prime minister. In early August 1906, 82 Russian provinces out of 87 were in the state of emergency as revolution spread over in numerous independent streamlets tainted with criminal elements. The Duma did not want to discuss any of the urgent problems. Reforms had to be combined with emergency measures.

Upon entering the office of prime minister, Stolypin sent out to the governors a circular telegram saying: "The government is full of a new intention to facilitate the legal repeal of obsolete and unworkable laws. The old order will be renewed."²

Stolypin set down to business with unprecedented zeal, allocating only a few hours for sleep (he went to bed at four o'clock in the morning and began his working day at nine). On the basis of Article 87 of the fundamental laws of the Russian Empire, which enabled the government to legislate during the Duma's adjournment, he managed to introduce a new legislation within five months after the dissolution of the First Duma.

On August 24, 1906, the programme of the government was issued, outlining radical changes in all areas of life in Russia. It was called to transform Russia into "a state without problems" in 20-30 years. Reforms were to be introduced in

the army, police, central administration, regional self-government, courts, social insurance and protection of labour, land use, ethnic relations, public education, and political life. Indicated separately were plans to convene the All-Russian Local Church Council.

A renewal of life in Russia could be achieved only if there was an idea capable of rallying society torn apart as it was by the end of the century by not only group, but also class differences and professional and political controversies. The emergence of various parties, trade unions and, more important, a representative State Duma no longer allowed the autocratic power to lean on the traditional ideology of absolute monarchy. At the same time, the party discord in the Duma showed that consensus, a uniting principle of Western democracies, was unacceptable in Russian political life where even liberal parties, as they called themselves, practised the revolutionary methods of struggle. The formal co-existence between the autocracy and the new institutions had to be replaced with organic relationships without breaking with the thousand-year-old Russian statehood.

It was not accidental that *sobornost* (conciliarity) came within the field of vision of Russian philosophers, politicians and statesmen at the turn of the century. European Christianity was going at that time through an acute spiritual crisis which involved a re-interpretation of the notion of freedom, both secular and religious. The ant-like collectivism of Karl Marx, the overwhelming loneliness of the Nietzschean "superman", the sexual revelations of Sigmund Freud who saw in religion a form of neurosis—all this marked the end of an era that deified man, the age of humanism. Godless humanism is unhuman—this was the verdict that Nikolai Berdyaev passed on this paradoxical world-view: "...the universal truth may be only revealed to the universal consciousness, that is, the conciliar ecclesiastical consciousness."³ The crisis of humanism manifested itself in numerous revolutions of the 19th century. Since the end of the 19th century the idea of *sobornost* in Russia became part of not only purely theological and philosophical, but also public thought. The idea of state as a living organism whose cosubordinate structures are equal but not self-sufficient was a new step towards the authentic understanding of freedom in political philosophy.

Before Stolypin was able to implement these

Concluded. For the beginning see JMP No. 4. 1992.

ideas, he had to face the proponents of a different understanding of political freedom in the Second Duma, which proved to be more Left-wing than the first. When Stolypin suggested that the Constitutional Democrats should condemn revolutionary assassinations, promising for it to eliminate courts martial and legalize their party, P. Milyukov gave an evasive answer that his party's support of terror was "a matter of tactics", while the "patriarch" of the party, I. Petrunkevich, said frankly that to condemn terror meant to bring moral death to the party. The cards were opened, but how eloquently did the Constitutional Democrats continued to speak from the Duma's rostrum about human rights and governmental terror! Even a leading member of this party, A. Izgoyev admitted that the Second Duma represented "a depressing sight of the decay of popular representations".⁴ The only party which supported Stolypin's programme was the Union of October 17, with A. Guchkov as its leader. The dissolution of the Duma was inevitable.

In fact, the Duma refused to consider the agrarian question, the freedom of religion and many other problems. Socialists took an upper hand in it, reducing all their speeches to criticism and threats to the government. Ultimately Stolypin had to throw into their faces his famous "I am not to be intimidated", and to abandon the idea of building in this Duma a strong and efficient centre. The increased pressure from the Right could lead to a rejection of the Manifesto of October 17, 1905, and to a ban on the Duma. Stolypin could not afford the victory of the reaction; it would mean the curtailment of all his planned reforms. In this difficult situation he managed to observe a balance, without swaying either Right or Left. He agreed to the Duma's dissolution, while introducing a new election law to transform it into a really working legislature.

The Left-wing press immediately named these developments "the coup d'etat of June 3, 1907". This term is still wandering through the pages of Soviet text-books on history. But the acts of June 3 did conform to the standards of the Russian imperial legislation and did not have the nature of a coup. It was essentially a new stage in the development of representative institutions. At last Stolypin managed to find a policy conforming to the Russian state principles. With the gradual re-installment of law and order in the country, the victory over the mass terror and the weakening of other revolutionary extremes it became necessary and possible to bring in harmony the political system and the needs of social development.

On November 16, 1907, Stolypin came out with a declaration on historical autocracy. In fact, in his speech he developed the ideas of the outstanding statesman, M. Speransky, on Russian constitutional monarchy and autocratic legal state.

Stolypin emphasized that it was only autocracy that "was called to save Russia and the historical truth at the moments of upheavals and danger to the state". But the nature of autocracy, in his opinion, was constantly changing, and autocracy under Nicholas II differed from autocracy under Peter I or Catherine II in that Nicholas II, in the first place, granted to society some representative institutions with the right of legislative initiative. At the same time, it was the monarch alone who continued to bear the burden of responsibility for his country before God. Therefore, in some exceptional cases he had the right to breach the fundamental laws in order to save the foundations of the Russian state, because he himself granted them to society.

Stolypin was far from trying to impose arbitrary rule in public life. He insisted that such exceptions will decrease in number in time, but until the Duma accumulated the experience of statesmanship, and to ensure the preservation of statehood, it was necessary to exert "a slight pressure on law" which was not to be confused with despotism for that "pressure" was to be exerted by a monarch. In fact, the flow of the First and Second Duma deputies' speeches did result in creative legislation, while the government worked hard. At that time Nicholas II issued 612 legislative acts of which only 3 were approved by the Duma.

Stolypin's opponents claimed that unless those exceptions were clearly specified, the government could manipulate its rights at will. But one has to admit that the prime minister was also right: if a state may be destroyed by a law, then who needs such a law? Good or bad, they were those "Russian state principles" which were not to be neglected by any sound politician.

The validity of the policy proposed by Stolypin was confirmed by the elections to the Third Duma which managed at last to form a solid centre consisting of moderate liberal forces led by the Union of October 17 (the Octobrists). The elections showed that society sobered down after the bloody revolution hangover. Stolypin was pleased to note in a talk with a *Volga* newspaper correspondent that the new system was "a purely Russian order consistent with the historical tradition and national in spirit."⁵

Realizing that the forms of state were inseparable from their spiritual contents, he saw in the Russian Empire above all an Orthodox state. But the passion of some parts of intelligentsia for cabbala, gnosticism, theosophy and other forms of "spiritual search" and the ensuing criticism of the Orthodox Church without any understanding of its place in society and the state led to a destruction of the genuine Russian statehood.

The demand for separation of the Church from the state, understood at that time as separation of politics from morality, became a run-of-the-mill item in the programme of every more or less

liberal party. The bill on the freedom of religion caused hot debates in the Third Duma. Left-wing deputies tried to put the Russian Orthodox Church on the same footing with other faiths not so much in legal terms as in the very opportunity to exert spiritual influence on the Russian people. In reply they heard Stolypin's stentorian voice: "The age-long ties of the Russian state with the Christian Church obliges it to base its law on freedom of religion on the principles of a Christian state in which the Orthodox Church as the dominant Church enjoys a special respect and a special protection of the state. In safeguarding the rights and privileges of the Orthodox Church, the state is called to protect the full freedom of those of its initiatives which conform to the basic laws of the state. The state, while keeping within the new provisions, cannot disregard the behests of history which reminds us that in all times and in all their deeds the Russian people were inspired by Orthodoxy closely associated with the glory and power of our homeland; at the same time, the rights and privileges of the Orthodox Church cannot and should not infringe upon the rights of other religions and confessions. Hence, I believe, the rejection of an ecclesio-civil legislation... would cause a breach of those age-long ties which exist between the state and the Church—the ties from which the state draws its power of spirit..."⁶

Stolypin warned against a formal understanding of the freedom of conscience: "Everywhere... in all states, the principle of the freedom of conscience yields to the national spirit and popular tradition and is implemented in strict conformity with them." When the special legislative commission suggested that the law should declare the freedom of a person to convert from Christianity to non-Christianity, Stolypin replied that the proposal should be "seriously questioned", adding: "Our people are zealous for the Church and tolerant, but tolerance does not mean indifference." He warned the deputies: "You will surely be guided by considerations of how to transform our life in keeping with new principles without damaging the vital basis of our state—the people's soul which has united millions of Russians. All of you, gentlemen, have been to our village, to our village church. You have seen how ardently our Russian people are praying... you could not but realize that the words heard in the Church were divine words. And the people seeking comfort in prayer will certainly accept the law that does not punish one for his faith, for praying according to his own rite. But the same people will not accept a law which would declare Orthodoxy, that is Christianity, equal to paganism, Judaism and Mohammedanism. Gentlemen, our task is not to adjust Orthodoxy to an abstract theory on religious liberty, but to kindle the light of the confessional freedom of conscience in our Russian Or-

thodox state... Remember that the law on confession of faith will work in the Russian state and that it is to be approved by a Russian tsar who was and is and will be an Orthodox tsar for more than one hundred million of people."⁷

The Duma approved a number of bills ensuring religious liberty, the rights to build houses of worship and form religious communities, and the repeal of restrictions connected with the confession of faith. Stolypin displayed a special concern for 15 million Old Believers, seeking to heal the wounds inflicted on the Russian state by the centuries-old schism. Restrictions on disrobed Orthodox clergymen were lifted up.

The view on state system and freedom of conscience that Stolypin advocated in the Duma stemmed from the truly Christian understanding of freedom whereby there is not and cannot be political liberty without personal spiritual freedom. He repeated again and again: "First the citizen, then his citizenship." According to him, a state was called to ensure the spiritual development of its citizens if it wanted to be a Christian state, for "it is only despotism, not freedom, that can do without faith".

Declaring these lofty principles of state policy, Stolypin sought to follow them in his everyday life as well. He combined the gift of a statesman with the humbleness of an ordinary parishioner. Wherever he went, he was sure to drop in the local church. He rejoiced over the well-being of parishes and helped the needy. In one of his letters to his wife, Olga Borisovna, Stolypin described his encounter with a priest at the village of Akshino where he happened to be in transit: "I inspected the church together with him, which is in good order, but the church school is awfully neglected... In view of this I promised to continue sending a five-rouble contribution for some time to help put the school in order."⁸

Stolypin's attitude to those around him was full of kindness and love. He generously shared his spiritual strength and knew how to comfort and support people. "You wrote about your dream. It is not your soul that is not prepared for death, but those six little souls who are entrusted to your care, and your concern that they might not be extinguished,"⁹ was his reply to Olga Borisovna's anxious and confused letter.

Was it not the key to his personal charm?

The well-balanced policy of the government resulted in the emergence of the first signs of improvement in Russian society. Since 1907 the pace of industrial production was rapidly growing, making the engineer a noted figure in society; the well-being of people was enhanced; Russian agricultural export filled European markets. The outbreaks of terrorism gradually faded away; in 1909-1910 the paramilitary organization of the Socialist Revolutionaries fell apart, and revolutionaries, one by one, started to leave "for permanent residence" abroad.

Among vivid manifestations of a spiritual change among the educated part of society was the publication in 1909 of a collection of studies called "Vekhi" ("mile—stones"). It marked the end of the spiritual escapism of the Russian intelligentsia and their return to the fold of the Orthodox Church and the state. These developments were highly appraised by Stolypin who closely followed the public effect of his reforms. He called *Vekhi*, "one of the first spiritual fruits of those rudiments of freedom which began to develop little by little in Russian life". The Orthodox faith proved to be that fertile soil on which grew the religio-philosophical ideas of the thinkers who brought out the philosophical renaissance of the 20th century.

The fact that the Third Duma approved his agrarian reform, a corner-stone of his internal policy, was another important victory for Stolypin. Advocating his view of the land use by peasants, he said: "The Government wishes to raise the peasant land ownership to a new level; it wants to see a peasant rich and well-off, because where there is wealth, there is enlightenment and true freedom... But to this end it is necessary to give an able and industrious peasant, that is the salt of the Russian land, an opportunity to get rid of those grips, those life conditions, which hold him at the present time. He should be given an opportunity to keep the fruits of his own work for himself and to make them his indelible property... There was a moment not long ago when the faith in the future of Russia was shaken; what was not shaken at that moment, though, was the faith of the Tsar in the power of the Russian ploughman and the Russian peasant!"¹⁰

The Decree of November 9, 1906, allowing the peasant to leave his community to become an individual and hereditary owner of land was a great success. Some 13 per cent of the community lands was transferred to the individual property of peasants. On the eve of the revolution, Russia was prepared to turn into a land of land-owners who could rapidly get rich. In Stolypin's time, Siberia, a place of resettlement for the land-starved peasantry, began to export, for the first time in history, the agricultural products, such as grain, butter and eggs. On the eve of the February revolution, the peasantry owned or rented 100 per cent of the cultivated land in the Asian part of Russia and 90 per cent in the European part.

The economic base for revolutionary disturbances in the country was liquidated. Why then were peasants so responsive to the slogans of the Socialist Revolutionaries and the Bolsheviks in 1917? Historians will have to study the question. But we can point to some socio-psychological and moral aspects of the reform.

Some myths which took root in the minds of people were created through the efforts of revolutionary propaganda. Among them were agrarian theories of that time, based on the ungro-

unded theses about a domination of landed estates in the country and an alleged land-hunger among peasants. Their authors deliberately falsified facts which indicated a real decrease in landed estates and an increase in peasant land ownership (by 1918 the relation between the land in possession of the gentry and the peasantry was 1 acre to 5.5 acres against 2 acres in 1894). The Russian "land-starved" peasant who possessed from 1 to 5 acres could be envied by any peasant in Germany or Denmark.¹¹

The myths rooted in people's psychology presented a more difficult problem. They included above all the traditions of communal land use, which Stolypin was so resolute to break. He emphasized the strictly voluntary principle of peasants' leaving the community, but this principle was faced with the time factor. The threatening events of 1905-1907 forced him to hurry up, which in a number of cases led to administrative abuses in provinces and peasants' forced withdrawal from their communities. Communities were obliged to make a redistribution of land at the request of even one person. Then the size of all other strips of land had to be reconsidered, which made it impossible for the community members to run their farms in peace. The hatred that community peasants felt for individual peasants was fed by mere envy, which led to arsons of individual farms and mutual dislike between the two groups of the peasantry.

Yet the principal reason for curtailing the reform by the summer of 1917 may have lied in the seemingly winning slogan of support for a "strong peasant". This declaration ran contrary to the peasants' age-old idea of the tsar as protector of the weak and undermined the idea of monarchy at its root. If in the past great Russia was built through protecting the weak, now it was to be built through the rights of the strong. This did not tally with that "truth for all" which the peasantry dreamt of. Interestingly, Leo Tolstoy, in his personal correspondence with Stolypin, pointed to this moral defect of his reform.¹²

The economic validity of the Stolypin agrarian reform is evident today. But at that time it encountered the yet surviving strong tendencies in people's psychology. When the long-awaited Decree on Land was issued in 1917, most peasants behaved like those lean kine who ate up the fat ones, but looked just as ill favoured as before (Gen. 41.17-21). The public consciousness was revolutionized in a paradoxical way: the revolution caught Russian society on its way from worse to better, when some people believed that the reform was going too slow. Woe to people who yielded to that temptation!

The year 1909 became a time of both ups and downs in Stolypin's reform. Having coped with revolutionary upheavals, he now faced a growing reaction on the part of influential Right-wing

members of the State Council, such as V. Trepov and P. Durnovo, and the Union of the Russian People who accused him of dangerous liberalism and flirting with the Duma.

In addition to the opposition from the right, Stolypin had to face an open dislike on the part of Empress Alexandra Fyodorovna, caused by his conflict with Grigory Rasputin.

Late in 1908, the St. Petersburg secret police learnt from the palace warden Dedyulin that "starets" Grigory Rasputin, a person totally unknown to them and therefore suspicious, was introduced to the Empress at the apartment belonging to her lady-in-waiting A. Vyubova. The investigation produced a disturbing result: though suspicion of his involvement in terrorism no longer arose, there were crimes of theft and lechery to his account...

Stolypin was shocked to hear of this, for through all those troubled years he had been zealously protecting the monarchic dignity against any encroachments and suspicions. In 1909 he had a private talk with the Tsar who, though embarrassed by his prime minister's interference into his private life, gave assurances that there would be no more meetings with Rasputin.

Yet soon after that Stolypin was informed that Rasputin was not only far from leaving, but rather frequented the court, gaining the Empress's apparent favour. Running a great risk, Stolypin gave the secret police his permission to arrest Rasputin and ban him from the capital, provided the arrest was effected outside Tsar's Village. First the efforts of agents brought no results, but soon Rasputin, without awaiting further developments, disappeared to emerge after a while in his native village in Siberia.

In 1911, after "the starets" returned to St. Petersburg, the prime minister met with him. Rasputin tried to get Stolypin hypnotized but failed. After this meeting Rasputin was exiled to his native village, but soon emerged in Kiev, brought there by Vyubova.¹³

Stolypin's struggle with political intrigues and his selfless protection of the royal family's authority against dirty encroachments and all kinds of adventurers cost him dear. According to A. Pilenko of the *Novoye vremya* journal, Stolypin said to a foreign ambassador in 1910: "My authority has been undermined; I will be supported as long as my power is needed, and then I will be thrown overboard" (*Moscow Weekly*, March 20, 1910). Stolypin, an "honest sentry", proved to be an obstacle here as well by rejecting to resign with his precious goal achieved. The situation in the country had stabilized; the rebellious peasant was replaced by Stolypin's "strong peasant" who attacked the landed estates not by onslaught, but by more successful economic siege. Stolypin's auditing commissions aimed at high-ranking thieves

and bribetakers as well as the Duma's inquiries threatened to cut off many an official from the feeding trough of power. The Right and Left were shaking hands over his head, and nobody could be sure as to which side would strike a mortal blow.

Stolypin encountered great resistance from the State Council in 1911 when the bill on the introduction of country-states in western provinces was discussed. His version of the law ensuring preponderance of the Russians over the Poles at elections (the latter comprised 2-3 per cent of the population of those provinces) was easily adopted by the Duma, but rejected by the State Council. The results of the vote in the State Council shocked Stolypin who attached a great importance to the law which he intended to serve as a prototype for new state and national relations, Russian in spirit and multinational in form. For the first time Stolypin could not restrain himself; he left the Council immediately and handed in his resignation.

An acute governmental crisis broke out, which lasted for over a week. Stolypin was forsaken by all: the Right and the Left alike openly expressed their delight; some ministers hastened to come over to the minister of finance V. Kokovtsev who was rumoured to take the post of prime minister. A. Guchkov, the leader of the Octobrists and Stolypin's ally, left for the Far East as a sign of protest. For the first time the reformer could feel an absolute vacuum around him.

A year and a half later, in his speech in memory of Stolypin, Guchkov would say, "Stolypin was a sincere and committed proponent of popular representation", which he protected from every menace threatening it from the Right and the Left.¹⁴ But that appreciation came later; in the meantime the Left-wing press was scoffing at the former prime minister. "Look, what a delight, what a carnival mood," wrote M. Menshikov in *Novoye vremya* on March 10. The cause of the prime minister's resignation was sought in the governmental discord, his own faint-heartedness, his ambitions and political gimmick. Amid all this sabbath in the press, the sober, accusing, but well-wishing voice of Menshikov sounded in a genuine attempt to analyze what had happened: "Indeed, if every kind of service including public service is looked upon from the point of view of personal gain, then why should one not give it up if it becomes too hard physically and morally? But what is proper for a petty philistine is inadmissible for representatives of a higher estate... A resignation is admissible if you are sacked or your illness or old age make you handicapped. But to leave at your own will in your prime, whether you like it or not, looks like you have not fulfilled your duty to the end... What would happen to a warrior, even an ordinary soldier, if he should plead to resign at the height of a battle?"

And the warrior returned to the battle-field. Grand Princes Alexander and Nicholas appealed to Empress Aleksandra Fyodorovna for help. They pointed out for her the delight of the Left, indicating that the seditious forces were lifting up their head and that only Stolypin could cope with terrorism and conspiracies. The Empress had an unpleasant talk with the Tsar, after which Nicholas II agreed to hear Stolypin's terms. Stolypin's demands looked more like an ultimatum: to dissolve the Duma and the State Council and, in the meantime, to introduce the law on western country-states on the basis on Article 87; to send V. Trepov and P. Durnovo, Stolypin's relentless opponents in the State Council, on leave up to January 1.

Both conditions presupposed an unprecedented scandal and put the Tsar in a very difficult position.

Nevertheless, he accepted them, and Stolypin was given powers to act at his own discretion. It was an unheard-of triumph for he prevailed on all points (the law on western country-states was adopted unhindered only after Stolypin's death, which means that in Spring 1911 it was not passed for political reasons).

Even the allies of the prime minister, the Octoberists, could not stand such a blow at fundamental law. The Duma and the State Council deemed Stolypin's actions to be illegitimate and his explanations inadequate. The Duma then was dissolved once and for all.

The public opinion termed Stolypin as "dictator". The ominous rumour spread all over St. Petersburg that the Tsar did not forgive the prime minister the pressure he brought to bear on His Majesty's will and was thinking about another assignment for him.

The epoch of great reforms had reached its zenith and now was inexorably sliding into a decline. All the energies of the reformer were given to his homeland. Now what remained to be given was his life.

STOLYPIN'S LAST DAYS

Eye-witnesses maintained that after the March crisis Stolypin became unrecognizable, reticent; his self-confidence seemed undermined, and he himself apparently felt that everybody around him was openly or surreptitiously hostile. He said that sleep did not come to him and that he suffered from nerves and every trifle irritated him. Doctors found he had a heart illness, and the Tsar granted him permission to take a leave, which he spent in Kolnoberzh.

The completion of the territorial reform in summer/autumn 1911 was to be marked with festivities in Kiev during which provincial deputations were to be introduced to the Emperor and to give thanks to him.

Stolypin felt sad in Kiev. The prime minister and the finance minister Kokovtsev, who was with him there, were ignored when the celebrations programme was drafted; they were not provided even with transportation means. Stolypin said to Kokovtsev, "We are quite redundant here", and on August 31 informed him that the police tried "to get him frightened" of a planned attempt at his life. Stolypin hardly ever trusted the police; once he even said: "If I am to be killed, it will be someone from my body-guard"¹⁶; but again he did not take any precautions.

At nine o'clock in the evening of September 1, a festive performance was given at the Kiev Opera House in the presence of the Emperor. The appearance of the Tsar with Grand Duchesses Olga and Tatyana and Prince Boris, the heir of the Bulgarian throne, was met with thrice-sung "God, Save the Tsar" and "hurray".

During the second interval closer to midnight, Kokovtsev came up to Stolypin, who sat in the first row near the royal box, to say goodbye to him as he was to leave immediately for St. Petersburg, Stolypin said sadly: "It is hard for me to be here and I have nothing to do," and asked Kokovtsev to take him along. Kokovtsev left the box, and Stolypin turned around to the half-empty hall to meet the eyes of an excited young man who stood two metres away covering his pocket with a small playbill. A few days later, dying Stolypin would say to V. Shulgin about his murderer: "He looked so pale and miserable, that little Jew who ran up to me... Poor boy, maybe he thought he was performing a feat..."¹⁷

...Dmitry Bogrov, an anarchic terrorist and agent-provocateur of the secret police, swiftly pulled a Browning out of his pocket. Stolypin kept facing him. Bogrov turned pale and made two shots.

Stolypin was saved from an instant death by the cross of the Order of St. Vladimir, which crashed, diverting the first bullet through his chest and pleura into liver. The other bullet went through his right hand into the concertmaster's leg. Stolypin retained his presence of mind. He leaned on the table and began to unbutton his tunic. Having noticed a growing stain of blood on his chest, he waved it away as hopeless, sank into his chair, and ordered the gendarmes who rushed to him to catch the criminal.

The Tsar came back to his box immediately after the shooting. At that moment Stolypin appeared to remember something; he turned in his direction, made signs of the cross over the tsar's family and himself, and lost consciousness. Doctors, who were present at the theatre, were already running to him, among them, Profs. Rein, Chernov, Obolensky, Makovsky, surgeon Galin and Dr. Afanasyev. They stopped the bleeding and carried the wounded on a stretcher to the ambulance. At this moment Stolypin regained his conscio-

usness and uttered: "Tell the Tsar that I am happy to die for him and for my Motherland."¹⁸

Back at the theatre, cries of anger and indignation alternated with the sounds of the national anthem and the prayer "Save, O Lord, Thy People". Bogrov got two teeth knocked out and an eye battered and was nearly mauled but for the interference of gendarmes...

Was Stolypin's murder accidental? Yes and no. His tough policy would have certainly made terrorists attempt it again, particularly since there were resources for it as an American millionaire by the name of Schiff had forwarded to the Leftist parties 12 million dollars for struggle against the autocracy, including 1.5 million for arranging Stolypin's assassination.¹⁹ From that aspect it was not accidental, because it was not Stolypin who was shot at, but Russia and Russian statehood. Bogrov himself stated during interrogation that he believed Stolypin to bear the primary responsibility for "the reaction", that is, the dissolution of the two Dumas, changes in the law on elections, persecution of the press, non-Russians, etc., but emphasized that his choice of the target in the theatre was accidental. In his death note to his relatives he wrote that he would have ended up doing it all the same. Analyzing the cause of the assassination, P. Struve wrote in those days: "Society did not feel the crime in Kiev to be anything of its own, and was right because 'revolution' had evaporated there as a social movement to become a purely personal adventure of modern supermen. As a 'revolutionary act', Stolypin's assassination was perfectly accidental. What was not accidental was the role that fell to the lot of the so-called body-guard" (*Russkaya mysl*, 1911, No. 10).

Bogrov was a typical representative of the "golden youth" in Kiev. His father was a rich Jew, an advocate, who possessed a multistorey building in Bibikovsky Boulevard, worth 400 thousand rubles. Bogrov received an excellent education in Kiev and Munich Universities, was fond of sports and chess. Apparently, having tasted all possible pleasures, he grew disappointed in life and entered the Anarchist Party. But soon he offered his services to the chief of the Kievan secret police, Kulyabko (during examination he explained this step by his need of money) and joined its staff as agent with a salary of 100-150 rubles a month. The further developments can be qualified as puzzles and hypotheses. A certain member of the organization came to Bogrov's place (Bogrov did not know his name and could only describe what he looked like). He informed him that the party suspected Bogrov of being agent-provocateur and condemned him to death. Bogrov could be rehabilitated only by assassinating Kulyabko or any other gendarme. Who was that man and what he enticed Bogrov to do is unknown. For some reason Bogrov chose

not to kill Kulyabko but misled him by promising to give away a terrorist who planned to kill a certain minister during festivities in Kiev. Under this pretext Bogrov managed to get from Kulyabko a pass to the theatre in spite of the strict order issued not to let "staff members" to the theatre.

According to some revolutionaries, Bogrov was used through the secret police by the extreme Right court circles. Unfortunately, the investigation of Bogrov's case was carried out too hastily, and as early as the night of September 11 he was hanged at the Lysogorsky Fort. A few days later Kokovtsev, now the prime minister, learnt that Nicholas II granted Kulyabko and other participants in the incident an amnesty to mark the recovery of his heir.²⁰ Since then all the versions of Stolypin's assassination have fallen within the province of supposition.

Bogrov belonged to that generation of revolutionary intelligentsia who, having no faith in their souls, deified not even the people, not "masses", but their own personality of a "superman". The psychology of these people is clearly reflected by Elzbacher in his "Anarchism" (the chapter on the Young Hegelian and anarchist Max Stirner): "I do not recognize the call of duty. Man has no calling, no task, no vocation, just as a plant or an animal has no vocation. The only thing he has is power. There is no truth either. Truths are just phrases, formulae, empty words. A recognition of anything as truth is slavery. I alone is truth: I am more than truth; truth is nothing before me. The first commandment for man is this call to himself: I am your lord god. The second commandment is the call to the so-called 'neighbour': you are my food. Crime may be committed only against something sacred, but as there is nothing sacred, there is no crime. The right is an incurable disease inflicted by illusion. He who has power is above law. Everything which is good for me I have the right to do. A thing belongs to him who can take it or keep it by force. Every man is unique, and he is god; he does everything for his own self. Therefore, I am a great enemy of the state, for it is my restriction, my slavery. I do not balk at property; on the contrary, I look at it as my property. All that I can capture is my possession. The way to realize this world-view is to overthrow the existing system by force and to kill all those who disagree with us. I declare the power over life and death to be mine."

All revolutions and all revolutionaries in all times made faith and God the first and the last objects of their destruction. In order to lead people to plunder and murder and in order to affirm falsehood by violence and violence by falsehood, one has to erase the very notions of absolute Good and absolute Evil from people's

consciousness, and then even plain cannibalism can be served under any philosophical sauce whatsoever. It is not accidental that Lenin, in speaking about revolutionary agitation, used the term "to inoculate", that is to inoculate masses with revolutionary ideology. Any revolutionary consciousness necessarily involves militant atheism. The fact that many Russian people fell away from the faith of their fathers cost us dear. Long decades of physical sufferings and spiritual thirst were needed before people could see again the light of true spirituality, which had never been extinguished in Orthodox churches, and feel the desire to be nourished by the word of God. This is the true meaning of Russia's purification and revival.

Stolypin spent his last days in the private surgery of Dr. Makovsky. The wounded endured his torments stoically, without complaints or groans. Only occasionally the doctors heard from him, "it hurts" or "I feel very dreary"... He did not think about his murderer, but repeatedly asked after the health of the wounded musician. He was conscious and expressed the wish to receive Holy Communion and said prayers before it. According to his confessor, Father Pavel Levitsky, he made his confession and was communicated with profound sincere faith and reverence and made a sign of the cross with his unimpaired left hand. His last request to his confessor was: "Father, pray for my wife Olga; we lived well together."²¹

In those four days during which Stolypin was at death's door, all Russia was praying for him as was shown by hundreds of telegrams which came to his address in Kiev from bishops, clergymen and the faithful of the Orthodox, Old Believers', Catholic and Lutheran Churches, as well as Moslems. The Orthodox Brotherhood of St. Aleksandr Nevsky in Dvinsk wrote in particular: "Having ardently prayed to the Almighty in the local cathedral, asking Him to grant recovery to Your Excellency, we assure you of our sincere sympathy with both you personally and the cause you are serving so invariably and unswervingly. God willing, your health will be restored and with new energy you will take the helm of state and will not let it turn left and thus change the Russian national idea. God is with us; therefore, the enemies who treacherously attack underhand and those who betray the Russian banner will never prevail in the Russian land..." Incidentally, among the surviving messages was that of the parishioners of the church in Chernobyl. Perhaps, if that prayer for Stolypin's recovery had worked, the land of Chernobyl would not have found itself ruined seventy five years after...²²

In the morning of September 5, doctors had a consultation and established that their further efforts were hopeless: Stolypin was doomed. His

pulse was fading, and his life was only sustained by stimulants. Blood accumulated between his liver and diaphragm; his heart was stopping. Soon agony began. Father Pavel was reading the prayer for the dying over him. He recalled later that Stolypin lost consciousness just before his death. Even dying he spoke about Russia... Then Father Pavel heard: "Light all the lamps... I need light... Lift me higher... higher...", and the dying man breathed his last.²³

Tserkovnye vedomosti observed: "He died as a true Christian, in peace with the Church, after a confession and Communion, drawing strength from his faith in Divine Providence... Petr Stolypin was not only a best son of the Motherland, but also a faithful son of the Church... The profound religiosity of the deceased accounts not only for his intrepidity, but also his steadfastness and the success of his activity... Indeed, the clean conscience of a Christian, the good of the Motherland and the will of the Sovereign were those high stars which directed the course of the state ship through a whirl of party, class and individual interests, and the course proved to be right" (*Tserkovnye vedomosti*, September 6, 1911).

When Stolypin's relatives opened his will, they read: "I wish to be buried at the place where I was killed." How much suffering did that man endure in his soul! He was buried in the Kiev-Pechery Lavra, next to the graves of other sufferers for Russia—Iskra and Kochubey. Six years later Russia was to be caught in a great strife. Stolypin's death in Kiev—the cradle of Russian statehood—was one of the last warnings.

Immediately after the funeral people began to raise money for erecting a monument to Stolypin. It was opened on September 1, 1912, opposite the Kiev City Council. Cut in the pedestal were Stolypin's words addressed to revolutionaries of all kinds: "You need great upheavels, but we need great Russia." And more: "I firmly believe that the light of Russian national idea that was lit in the west of Russia will not fade away, but will soon illumine all Russia." The front side of the monument bore the inscription: "To Petr Arkadievich Stolypin from Russian people."

The *Kievlyanin* newspaper reported in 1911 that the peasants of the village of Stolypino laid the foundation of a church to commemorate the martyrdom of Stolypin.²⁴

Among a great number of posthumous speeches, articles, telegrams, letters, and books in which Stolypin's personality was duely appreciated at last, there was a letter from the peasants of the village of Kruts, Saratov Region, which Olga Stolypina cherished most of all. It came three months after Stolypin's death and read: "He has always been kind and considerate to us, on which account we had an opportunity to build a new

beautiful church in our small village, in which we find a great comfort; also with his help and active participation we purchased a plot which belonged to Petr Arkadievich—now a guarantee of our well-being... Kindly accept from us the most sincere and cordial sympathy and condolences upon the irretrievable loss of such an affective and noble leader, citizen and sincere believer. His memory will be cherished in our village as long as there is the church of God standing in it as a permanent witness to Petr Arkadievich's kindness to us."²⁵

NOTES

¹ USSR Central State Historical Archives (CSHA), fund 1662, inventory I, file 122, p. 322.

² A. S. Izgoyev, *P. A. Stolypin. Ocherk zhizni i deyatelnosti* (P. A. Stolypin, Essay of Life and Activity), Moscow, 1912, p. 33.

³ N. A. Berdyayev, *Filosofiya svobody* (Philosophy of Freedom), Moscow, 1989, p. 27.

⁴ A. S. Izgoyev, *Op. cit.*, p. 36.

⁵ *Volga*, 1909, No. 9.

⁶ *Nash sovremennik (Our Contemporary)*, 1990, No. 3, p. 158.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

⁸ CSHA, f. 1662, in. 1, f. 230, p. 155.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

¹⁰ *Kak umirayut geroi. Pamyati Stolypina* (As Heroes Die. In Memory of Stolypin). St. Petersburg, 1912, p. 61.

¹¹ B. L. Brazol, *Tsarstvovaniye imperatora Nikolaya II (1894-1917) v tsifrakh i faktakh* (The Reign of Emperor Nicholas II. Statistics and Facts). New York, 1958, p. 14.

¹² S. Rybas, L. Tarakanova, "Life and Death of Petr Stolypin" — *Smena*, 1991, No. 6.

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¹⁵ *Ibid.*, f. 122, p. 34.

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²⁰ P. N. Milyukov, *Vospominaniya* (Memoirs). Moscow, 1990, Vol. 2, p. 153.

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²³ *Gosudarstvennaya deyatelnost...*, p. 125.

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Sergei TSVETKOV



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